

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. II., No. 31.

OCTOBER 8, 1908.

Price 1d. Weekly. (Post Free.)

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Dedication	17
The Outlook	17
N.W.S.P.U. Announcements	18
Treasurer's Note	19
Contributions to the £20,000 Fund	19
Signs of the Times. By Laurence Housman	19
The Women's Demand	19
History of the Suffrage Movement. By Sylvia Pankhurst	20
Women Demonstrators of the Past. By F. E. Macaulay	21
The Campaign in London	22
Constitution of the N.W.S.P.U.	22
Progress of Women	23
What We Shall Do on October 13. By Emmeline Pankhurst	24
Our Rights as Taxpayers. By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence	24
Interruptions at Meetings. By Christabel Pankhurst	25
Protests at Cabinet Ministers' Meetings	26
Letter from Mr. Lloyd George	26
Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's Reply	26
Campaigns Throughout the Country:—	
West of England—Manchester — Yorkshire — Midlands —	
Newcastle—Reading—Scotland	28
Local Notes	30
Answers to Correspondents	31
Our Post Box	31

Articles and news contributed for insertion in "Votes for Women" should be sent to the Editors at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper.

The paper can be obtained from all newsagents and bookstalls.

For quotations for advertisements, apply to the Advertisement Manager, "Votes for Women," 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

DEDICATION.

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom; to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it; to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

Protests and Ejections.

Mrs. Pankhurst has addressed the following letter to the Prime Minister:—

SIR,—I am instructed by the committee of the National Women's Social and Political Union to write you as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government with regard to the measure introduced by Mr. Stanger, M.P., which passed second reading by a large majority.

At many very large demonstrations, held all over the country, resolutions have been carried with practical unanimity, calling upon the Government to adopt his Bill, and pass it into law this year. At a succession of by-elections the voters have shown unmistakably their desire that the Government should deal with the question without further delay.

We shall esteem it a favour if you will inform us whether it is the intention of the Government to carry the Women's Enfranchisement Bill during the autumn session of Parliament.

Up to the time of going to press no answer has been received.

During the past week a great many speeches have been delivered by Cabinet Ministers in different parts of the country, and the intentions of the Government have been laid before the electors. From the reforms to be included in the Government programme of the near future Woman Suffrage has been definitely excluded, and against this exclusion women have protested. Wherever women have raised the question at these

meetings they have been ejected, but they have secured that Woman Suffrage should be referred to by the Minister speaking, and should be one of the principal matters for consideration among the audience.

Mr. Lloyd George at Swansea.

One of the most successful protests was made at Swansea during the speech of Mr. Lloyd George. That statesman evidently lost his temper (as the editor of the *Manchester Guardian* suggested in a comment to a letter). He urged the stewards to "ruthlessly fling the women out," and suggested that a good plan would be to tie them up in sacks. He also insinuated that protesting at meetings in this way was becoming a profession. On this point he has been challenged by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence on behalf of the Union. The full correspondence on the subject will be found on page 26. The women who were turned out found a very sympathetic crowd outside, who asked them to start a votes for women campaign in the district. Among other protests were those at Mr. Asquith's meeting at Earlston, Mr. Sinclair's in Dundee, Mr. Harcourt's in Rossendale Valley, and Mr. Runciman's in Aberystwyth.

A Cowardly Action!

We reproduce in full on another page the leading article of the *Manchester Guardian* of October 3, which takes up the cudgels against this method of attack upon Cabinet Ministers. It is amusing to read that in the opinion of that journal the women's action is cowardly. As women go to these meetings with the full knowledge that they will be thrown out with a good deal of violence, and also that retaliation in kind is invariable administered to the speakers of the Women's Social and Political Union for some time after the event, this adjective is amusingly incorrect. On the larger issues raised by the article we refer our readers to the striking article by Miss Christabel Pankhurst on page 25 of this issue.

Vigorous Campaigns.

While the attention of the country has been called to Woman's Suffrage in various places by these methods, the organisers of the Union have been doing a great deal of valuable work all over the country, and upwards of 100 meetings have been held during the week. The Queen's Hall was filled on Monday last by an enthusiastic audience of women, when the first of the new series of At Homes was held, and Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Elizabeth Robins, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst addressed the meeting. A number of women rose from the body of the hall to express their willingness to form part of the deputation to Mr. Asquith on October 13, and the sum of £313 towards the winter campaign was subscribed. In other parts of London important meetings have been held calling attention to the great demonstration on Tuesday next in Parliament-square. Reading is being thoroughly worked with a view to a possible by-election in that constituency; Wolverhampton is to be addressed by Mrs. Pankhurst to-day; and the campaigns in Bristol, Lancashire, Yorkshire, the Midlands, Newcastle, and Scotland are in full swing.

Can Men Legislate for Women?

How much the women's point of view is needed in order to redress the balance of thought in the councils of the Government is seen by comparison of the utterances of Mr. Macnamara and Mr. Haldane during the last week. While Mr. Macnamara is proclaiming the disgracefulness of married women being allowed to work for money, Mr. Haldane is detailing a scheme by which 16,000 men, many of whom are married, will be encouraged to leave their homes and go for weeks into barracks without a thought to their wives and children. When women have the vote the women's point of view in all these matters will be introduced.

N.W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Meeting in Trafalgar Square.

A mass meeting is being held on Sunday next, October 11, at 3 o'clock in Trafalgar Square. Miss Christabel Pankhurst and General Drummond will address the meeting, and outline the plans for next week. It is hoped that there will be a large muster of supporters.

The Opening of Parliament.

Parliament opens on October 12, and on the day following, October 13, a deputation of women will seek an interview with the Prime Minister at the House of Commons. Any women who are willing to go with the deputation should send in their names at once to Miss Christabel Pankhurst, 4, Clements Inn, in order that all arrangements can be made. Two special meetings are being held that day. Women are invited to take tickets for the Caxton Hall, where the proceedings will begin at 7.30. Tickets, price 1s., reserved, and 6d., unreserved, can be obtained of the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C. Women willing to act as sellers are requested to write to Mrs. Drummond. The general public are being invited to assemble at the same time in Parliament-square, and handbills giving this invitation can be obtained from the office for circulation. It is the desire of the N.W.S.P.U. that a very large number of people may be present to support the women in their claim for enfranchisement. In order to arouse the interest of the general public of the metropolis, London has been divided into seven districts, and in each of these special meetings are being held every day. Those already arranged are announced in the programme, others are planned out.

The Albert Hall Meeting.

There is now only a month before the great Albert Hall meeting on Thursday, October 29. At the last meeting in the Albert Hall there was a full attendance, many people being turned away from the door. We are specially anxious that all members and friends of the N.W.S.P.U. should make this meeting well known amongst their acquaintances sufficiently early beforehand. We shall be glad to supply handbills, announcing the meeting, to any of those who wish to have them, and hope also that many of our friends will take out tickets on sale, which they will dispose of in the course of the next few weeks. The prices of the seats are 5s. for the stalls, 2s. 6d. for the arena, 1s. for the balcony and orchestra, and 6d. for gallery and upper orchestra. There are also boxes to be disposed of at various prices.

The meeting will provide a unique opportunity for listening to speeches from leaders of the N.W.S.P.U., and one to which members will find it specially useful to call the attention of outsiders.

As on the last occasion, several hundred women will be required to act as stewards. Mrs. Drummond, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C., will be pleased to know the names of any of those who are willing to take part in this way.

"Votes for Women" Bound Volume.

The first year of VOTES FOR WOMEN is now being bound up into a volume, which can be obtained from the Publisher, 4, Clements Inn, price 10s. (post free, 10s. 6d.). The volume includes the seven monthly and 22 weekly numbers, and also a specially prepared index. The binding is in the colours of the Union, and on the outside cover is a special design by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.

Copies of the index can be obtained separately, price 2d. (post free, 2½d.), and readers' own copies can be bound, with the index, for the sum of 6s., or 6s. 6d. together with postage.

Christmas Publications.

The Woman's Press are pleased to be able to announce that they are publishing shortly a calendar for the year 1909, for which Miss Kerr has kindly arranged a series of Shelley quotations. The calendar will have a frontispiece of the Women's Social and Political Union, including coloured medallion, and can be obtained from the Woman's Press, price 1s. each.

A Christmas card, beautifully prepared from Mr. Laurence Housman's famous banner (which took part in the Hyde Park Demonstration), will also be on sale in November. Single cards will be 6d. each; larger quantities can be obtained as follows:—25 for 10s. 6d.; 50 for £1; 100 for £1 17s. 6d. A plain Christmas card in the colours of the Union is also being prepared, particulars of which will be announced later.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to October 16 (as far as at present arranged).

Day	Time	Location	Speaker/Event	Time
October	Thur. 8	Pimlico Pier, facing Army and Navy Clothing Factory	Mrs. Drummond, Miss Isabel Seymour	12 a.m.
		London, Guildford Street and Caroline Place	Mrs. Baldock, Miss I. Seymour	1 p.m.
		Westminster, Greycoat Place	Miss Naylor, Mrs. Williams	1 p.m.
		Albert Embankment, outside Pooock's Milk Depot	Miss Marsh, Miss Auld	1 p.m.
		Wood Green, Small Unity Hall	Bowes Park W.S.P.U.	4.45-4.15
		Freston	Mrs. Martel	3 & 7 p.m.
		Manchester, visit to Gaiety Theatre	Manchester Members	
		Westbourne Grove, Open-air Mtg.	Miss Macaulay, Miss Phillips	3.30 p.m.
		Kensington, Drawing - room Meeting	Miss Mary Neal, Miss Phillips, Mrs. Housman	9-11
		Wolverhampton, Bath Assembly Rooms	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Keevil	8 p.m.
		London, At Home, Portman Rooms, Dorset Street	Dr. Helen Jones	
		Hampstead, Conservatoire	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
		Brixton, White House	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	8 p.m.
		Clevedon, Private At Home	Mrs. Clarke	8 p.m.
		London, Clerkenwell Green	Miss Annie Kenney	8 p.m.
			Mrs. Baldock, Miss Phillips, Miss Naylor	1 p.m.
Fri. 9		Pimlico Pier, Army and Navy Clothing Factory	Miss Berlon	12 a.m.
		Deptford	Mrs. Bouvier, and others	3.30 p.m.
		Lambeth, corner of Hercules Rd.	Miss Jessie Kenney, and others	7 p.m.
		London, St. John Square	Mrs. Baldock, Miss Macaulay	7 p.m.
		Earl's Court, Open-air Meeting	Miss Barrett, Miss Morrison	7 p.m.
		Lewisham, High Street	Mrs. Bouvier, and others	7 p.m.
		Bowden	Mrs. Martel	
		Clifton, Hannah More Hall	Miss Annie Kenney, and others	7.30 p.m.
		Kensington, Drawing-room Mtg.	Miss Joachim, Miss Macaulay	8 p.m.
		Battersea, Town Hall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Flora Drummond	
		Bradford, Somerset Parlour	Miss Adela Pankhurst	
		Manchester, At Home, Portico Library, Moseley Street	Mrs. Martel	8-10
		Stockport, Sunday School Debating Society	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8 p.m.
		Manchester, Stevenson Square	Votes for Women Corps	
Sat. 10		Leeds, outside Coliseum	Miss Adela Pankhurst	3 p.m.
		Bolton	Mrs. Martel	3 p.m.
		Glasgow, At Home, 141, Bath St.	Miss Conolan	3.30 p.m.
		Camden Town, Cobden Statue	Mrs. Leigh	6.30 p.m.
		London, Clerkenwell Green	Mrs. Baldock, and others	7 p.m.
		Chiswick, Elliot Road Church	Miss Macaulay	7 p.m.
		Manchester	Mrs. Martel	7.30 p.m.
		Birmingham, Monument Road	Dr. Helen Jones, Miss Ryland	7.30 p.m.
		London, Clerkenwell Green	Mrs. Baldock, Mrs. Borrmann Wells	3 p.m.
Sun. 11		London, Trafalgar Square	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Drummond	3 p.m.
		London, Regent's Park	Mrs. Nourse, Miss Leigh	
		Birmingham, Small Heath Park Gates	Dr. Helen Jones	3 p.m.
		Southport	Mrs. Martel	
		Blackheath	Mrs. Bouvier, Miss W. Auld	3 p.m.
		Birmingham, Labour Church	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	6.30 p.m.
		Peckham, The Triangle	Mrs. Bouvier, and others	7 p.m.
		Hammersmith, Ethical Society, Shattisbury Road	Miss Macaulay	7 p.m.
		Woolwich, Beresford Square	Mrs. Pankhurst	7 p.m.
		Bristol, Victoria Rooms	Miss Annie Kenney	3.30 p.m.
Mon. 12		London, At Home, Queen's Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	3-5
		Brockwell Debating Society	Miss Evelyn Sharp	
		London, St. John Square	Mrs. Baldock, Mrs. Clarke	7 p.m.
		Wanstead	Miss Phillips	8 p.m.
		Brompton Rd., W., Open-air Mtg.	Miss Macaulay	7 p.m.
		Kensington, Warwick Road	Mrs. Martel	7 p.m.
		Manchester, Stevenson Square	Rally	7.30 p.m.
		Birmingham, At Home	Miss Keevil	7.30-9
		Liverpool	Mrs. Martel	
		Bristol, Literary Society, Cotham	Miss A. Kenney	8 p.m.
		Birmingham, Drawing - room Mtg., Mrs. Ryland, Edgbaston	Miss Keevil, Mrs. Kerwood	3 p.m.
Tues. 13		London, Caxton Hall, Women's Meeting	Mrs. Pankhurst, and others	7.30 p.m.
		Manchester, Stevenson Square	Rally	7.30 p.m.
		Bristol, Debate, Law Student Society	Miss Annie Kenney	
		Liverpool	Mrs. Martel	
		Newcastle, At Home, Drawing-room Café, Northumberland St.	Miss New	
Wed. 14		Birmingham (Women only), Saltley	Miss Keevil	3 p.m.
		Clifton, At Home, 1, Hanbury Rd.	Miss Annie Kenney	3.30 p.m.
		Edinburgh, At Home	Miss Conolan	3.30 p.m.
		Kensington, At Home	Committee Kensington W.S.P.U.	4-6
		Manchester, Stevenson Square	Rally	7.30 p.m.
		Fairfield	Mrs. Martel	
		Wood Green, Small Unity Hall	Bowes Park W.S.P.U.	4.45-4.15
Thur. 15		Wolverhampton, At Home, Bath Assembly Rooms	Miss Keevil	3.30-5
		Hornsey, 7, Priory Gardens	Miss Vera Wentworth	7 p.m.
		London, At Home, Portman Rooms, Dorset Street	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	8 p.m.
		West Kirby Debating Society	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8 p.m.
		Birmingham, Debate, Norton Memorial Institute	Miss Keevil	
		Clifton, Hannah More Hall	Miss Annie Kenney	7.30 p.m.
Fri. 16		Manchester, At Home, Onward Buildings	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8-10
		Liverpool	Mrs. Martel	
		Chelsea, Quizzers' Literary and Debating Society	Miss Isabel Seymour	10.30 p.m.
		New Brighton	Mrs. Martel	
Sat. 17		Manchester, Stevenson Square	Manchester Members	3 p.m.
		Glasgow, At Home, 141, Bath St.	Miss Conolan	3.30 p.m.
		Birmingham, Monument Rd.	Miss Keevil	7.30 p.m.

IMPORTANT FUTURE EVENTS.

London, Albert Hall (Meeting)	Oct. 29
Manchester, Free Trade Hall.....	Nov. 25

One of the purchasers of VOTES FOR WOMEN, *en route* on the occasion of Mary Phillips' release, paid 10s. for a copy, remarking that she considered the paper quite worth that amount. Others paid more than the price of the paper "for the good of the cause."

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

Whenever in the past men have agitated for some great political reform, its opponents have always based their hostility on one of two main arguments—either that it imperilled the welfare of the country, or that it confounded the rights of property. And the cry of ruin is always raised most loudly when the cause is upon the eve of its triumph. In the last year nothing has so convinced me of the approaching triumph of the Woman's Cause as the sharpened cry of anguish or wrath which has begun to proceed from mouths which had hitherto kept silence; and the cry is the same old cry, and the argument is the same old argument which our forefathers heard, and which the event has proved so foolish and so false.

There is no indifference now upon this question, such as there was only two years ago. Favour to Woman's Suffrage was then, for the majority, a mere pious opinion. That a minority who then gave it no consideration at all should now regard it as an impious opinion is a clear gain. So, too, is the line of argument which they direct against it, and so, still more, is the spirit in which those arguments are urged. When a man writes in terms of persistent insult of those to whose views he is opposed, when he suppresses inconvenient truths and distorts controverting facts, then one becomes more and more assured that his is not the prospering cause, and one recognises in his wriggings, as in those of certain creatures which make their appearance before rain, signs that a change of weather is at hand.

Yes, the increase of articulate opposition to the Woman's Movement is all to the good, if only because it causes discussion in new quarters; and wherever there is discussion, new converts are won. I have never yet been in any company where the subject has been raised without seeing, as a result of debate, at least some modification in the opposition previously expressed; nor can people persist in holding a cause in contempt when they find it warmly supported by those for whom they have a regard. They may be angry, they may try to regard it as a piece of wrong-headedness, but contempt and friendship do not go together, and in parting with their old attitude of contempt, one of their defences is already broken down.

So, too, do those most forward in this movement welcome the formation of the Anti-Suffrage League. For they know that from that league, however large it may be at first, they will presently be gaining recruits; but that no similar recruiting will ever take place in the other direction; nay, they have only to hear of the declaration made at the first meeting of that body—that the question whether women should have the vote was a matter for women themselves to decide—to know that the first line of defence has already been captured, and that already a basis of agreement has been found.

Yes, discussion is all to the good. But there are silences still among public men and in the Press, which have yet to be broken down. On Friday last I said to a leader-writer on one of our London dailies, "Well, Newcastle is all right, isn't it? The women have had their say there." "Yes," he answered, "Newcastle is all right. And now I have to go and write an article to say that it is all wrong. But I shan't be allowed to say anything about the women there." But, all the same, his editor knows.

LAURENCE HOUSMAN.

Two good suffragists, C. Lilian Sheppard and Rose Aspinall Syers, are holding an interesting sale of small pictures at 3A, Seymour-place, Fulham-road, S.W., from Wednesday, October 21, till October 28, inclusive, 2 p.m. to 7 p.m. They hope as a result to be able to hand over a good donation to the N.W.S.P.U.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

"Mony a mickle mak's a muckle." By united and strenuous efforts we have reached and passed the sum of £18,000. It took us three weeks to get the last thousand pounds. And we have only three weeks to get the remaining £2,000 if we are to complete the £20,000 scheme before the great Albert Hall meeting. Now that the West and North and East and South are standing in to bear their share of the National campaign, it is quite possible to accomplish this task, great as it may seem. It is now, when women are on the eve of pouring out days, weeks, and perhaps months of their life, it is now the time for every woman with any sort of self-respect, whether she be rich or poor, to pour out her substance, so that the means may be forthcoming of arousing the country to vigorous protest and of organising that protest so completely and effectively that the sacrifice of our brave comrades can be turned to fullest possible account.

E. P. L.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £20,000 FUND.

September 30 to October 6.

£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	17,930	7 10	Dr. Flora Murray	0	5 0
Miss Milne	0	2 0	Miss Margot Forbes Robert-	0	10 0
Mrs. G. Woods	0	5 0	son (collected)	50	0 0
Miss H. M. Chadbourne	0	1 0	Mrs. Harry McCalmont	10	0 0
(collected)	0	3 3	Mrs. Wallace Dunlop	1	1 0
Battersea and Clapham	2	0 6	Anon.	2	0 0
(per Miss Cameron)	100	0 0	Two New Zealand Sympa-	1	1 0
Battersea and Clapham	5	0 0	thisers	0	10 0
(per Mrs. Bartlett)	0	10 0	Miss Llewellyn	0	5 0
Mrs. G. Bernard Shaw	0	5 0	Mrs. Spang	1	0 0
Miss Katherine Fairless	0	2 6	Mrs. Jones	1	0 0
Miss G. Hodsdon Boulette	0	10 0	Miss C. A. Jones	2	2 0
Mrs. Olive Arbutnot	0	10 0	Miss Crofton	5	0 0
Miss Esther J. Pearce	1	1 0	The Misses Beck	2	0 0
"Smart's Hooks and Eyes	0	10 0	Miss L. M. Rendel	1	0 0
Anon. per Miss C. Turle	0	10 0	Anon.	0	12 6
Mrs. R. A. Billingham	0	10 0	Mrs. I. Atkinson (collecting	0	1 0
Miss Lena Willcocks	1	1 0	card)	0	1 0
Dr. Carling	0	10 0	Miss E. A. Thompson	1	1 0
Misses J. E. and E. E.	0	10 0	Mrs. Alice Wiebel	1	0 0
Brown	0	10 0	Mrs. F. Fleming	1	1 0
Miss Elsie Grant	0	10 0	Miss Ellis	1	1 0
Anon.	0	10 0	A Man who Wishes Success	1	0 0
Miss Kate Griffith	0	10 0	to the Cause	1	1 0
"A Friend"	0	10 0	Miss Hilda Lea-Smith	0	2 6
Mrs. Gerald Paget	25	0 0	T. F. W.	0	2 0
Miss J. McLeod	1	0 0	London City Union (hire of	0	2 0
Miss Beatrice Harraden	1	1 0	room)	1	0 0
Miss Charlotte Kilburn	0	10 0	Per Miss A. Kenney—	1	0 0
Miss A. E. Billingham	0	10 0	Miss S. Strangways	1	1 0
Scottish W.S.P.U.	0	10 0	Miss C. M. Strangways	0	10 0
Mrs. M. H. Machworth	0	10 0	Per Miss G. Keevil—	0	4 3
Mrs. Mary Gillies	0	10 0	F. Vaile, Esq.	0	2 6
Miss Nellie E. Smith	0	10 0	Miss B. Brewster	0	1 0
Mrs. C. Howard Shaw	0	10 0	Mrs. Bulan	0	5 0
Mrs. M. V. Picot	0	10 0	Miss Barnett	0	6 6
Miss M. C. Walker	0	10 0	Mrs. Hill	0	0 0
Miss Marie I. Naylor (By-	0	10 0	Miss Evelyn Burkett	0	0 0
election)	0	10 0	Per Miss A. Pankhurst—	0	0 0
Mrs. Wyatt (By-election)	0	10 0	Mrs. Willson	3	1 0
Miss Audrey Wyatt (By-	0	10 0	Membership Entrance Fees	145	14 6
election)	0	10 0	Collections, &c.	145	14 6
Miss M. C. Lees	0	10 0	Total	£18,348	19 10
Miss Mary Keegan (By-	0	10 0			
election)	0	10 0			

THE WOMEN'S DEMAND.

The Women's Social and Political Union are asking for votes for women on the same terms as they are possessed by men.

They are not asking for the vote for every woman, but that a woman shall not be refused a vote simply because she is a woman.

At present men who pay rates and taxes, who are owners, occupiers, lodgers, or have the service franchise, possess the Parliamentary vote. The Women's Social and Political Union claim that women who fulfil the same conditions shall also enjoy the franchise. This means that those women who pay taxes, and bear the responsibilities imposed upon men voters, will have the same political rights. Married women will obtain the vote, provided they possess the necessary qualifications; thus where a married woman, and not her husband, is the householder, or where a woman is in business on her own account, she will become a voter.

It is estimated that when this claim has been conceded about a million and a-half women will possess the vote, in addition to the seven and a-half million men who are at present enfranchised.

The Women's Social and Political Union claim that a simple measure, giving the vote to women on these terms, shall be passed this Session.

THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. XXVIII.—How the W.S.P.U. was Formed.

[In our issue of October 1 the story was told of the ejection of Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney from Sir Edward Grey's meeting on October 13, 1905.]

On the following morning the police-court was crowded with people, eager to see the women tried.

Telling everything from the Liberal point of view, the counsel for the prosecution dwelt at length upon the disturbance in the Free Trade Hall. But the women, who refused to dispute the police evidence to the charges of assault and obstruction, and based their defence solely upon the plea that their behaviour was justified by the outrageous treatment they had received during the meeting, were not allowed even to refer to this, and were told to confine themselves to what had taken place after they had been ejected from the hall.

After this mockery of a trial, they were found guilty. Christabel Pankhurst was thereupon ordered to pay a fine of 10s., or to go to prison for seven days, and Annie Kenney 5s., or three days.

They both refused to pay the fines, and were then immediately hurried away to the cells.

Now, the whole country rang with the story, and, in spite of Press misrepresentations and repudiation by some of the orthodox Suffragists, there were many people whose hearts were stirred to sympathy by the women's action, and many others whose interest and curiosity were aroused.

"Who were the two girls," it was asked, "that had made this great disturbance; where had they come from, what was their history, and what had led them to behave in this extraordinary way?"

Some of these points were explained by a letter from the Manchester Women's Social and Political Union to the Press, in which it was stated that the Union had written in advance to Sir Edward Grey, asking him to receive a deputation on the subject of women's suffrage, and, that on this being refused, Miss Pankhurst and Miss Kenney had been sent to question him at his meeting, and instructed to do everything in their power to secure an answer. The Union was proud of the way in which its instructions had been carried out.

And now the world wanted to know more about the Women's Social and Political Union—this obscure society, that was prepared to take the responsibility for these lawless acts, and to speak in this defiant way. How long had it been in existence, what were its objects, who had formed it, and who was running it now?

Briefly, the facts were these: The Women's Social and Political Union was a society whose immediate object was to obtain the Parliamentary vote for women upon the same terms as it is or may be granted to men. It had been formed in 1903. Its founder was Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst.

The Life Story of the Founder.

Mrs. Pankhurst's grandmother had been an eager politician in the days when few women were thus inclined, and her grandfather had narrowly escaped death upon the field of Peterloo. Born upon the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille, she had all her life been inspired by the love of freedom and the instinct to revolt against injustice and oppression. At 21 she had married Dr. Pankhurst, well known as an advanced politician, a friend to all reform movements, and an earnest supporter of the women's movement. One of the founders and most active members of the first Manchester Women's Suffrage Committee, he had drafted the original Women's Disabilities Removal Bill, which had passed its second reading in 1870. Dr. Pankhurst had also been a member of the Married Women's Property Committee, and had prepared the draft for the present Act. With Lord Coleridge he had acted as counsel for the women who claimed to be put upon the Parliamentary Register in the case of Chorlton v. Lings in 1868.

Through her husband, therefore, Mrs. Pankhurst was linked up with the earliest workers in the Suffrage movement, and knew much of the long struggle for justice.

In 1890 Dr. Pankhurst and she had helped to found the Women's Franchise League, and when some few years afterwards this society was discontinued, owing mainly to lack of

funds, they had returned to Manchester, and worked for Social Reform. Since then Mrs. Pankhurst had been for six years a member of the Chorlton Board of Guardians, had served on the Manchester School Board, and afterwards upon the Manchester Education Committee. She had also gained great experience as a Registrar of Births and Deaths.

Studying Human Documents.

During these later years, prior to the formation of the W.S.P.U., her special work for the suffrage had been less active, but she had learnt to know the pressing needs and bitter hardship of women's lives as she had never done before.

Now, partly owing to the keener insight which her experiences had brought her, but, perhaps, in the first instance, even more largely to the influence of her daughter, Christabel, who had become a member of the Manchester Women's Suffrage Committee, and had assisted Miss Roper and Miss Gore-Booth in their suffrage propaganda amongst the women textile workers, Mrs. Pankhurst was brought back to the question of women's enfranchisement, and awakened to a deeper sense of its urgent and immediate importance.

She now felt it to be her duty to do everything that she could to force the question into the forefront of practical politics—even if this should mean the giving up of all her other work.

These things combined to make her feel the need for a separate women's organisation, and on October 10, 1903, she invited a number of women to meet her at her house, 62, Nelson-street, Manchester, and the Women's Social and Political Union was formed.

From the first it was decided that the Union should be independent of party, and that women of all shades of political opinion might join it.

(To be continued.)

THE WOMAN'S PRESS.

The following penny pamphlets are published or sold by the Woman's Press, 4, Clements Inn, London, W.C.:—

- Prison Faces. By ANNIE KENNEY.
- A Call to Women. By Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.
- One and One are Two. By ISRAEL ZANGWILL.
- Talked Out. By ISRAEL ZANGWILL.
- The Commons Debate on Woman Suffrage. By CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.
- The Importance of the Vote. By Mrs. PANKHURST.
- The New Crusade. By Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.
- The Meaning of the Woman's Movement. By Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.
- Votes for Men. By MARY GAWTHORPE.
- Woman's Suffrage in America. By Mrs. BORRMANN WELLS.
- Woman's Vote in Australia. By Mrs. MARTEL.
- The Citizenship of Women. By KEIR HARDIE.
- Woman's Franchise. By Mrs. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY.
- Woman's Suffrage. By T. JOHNSTON.

The Woman's Press also publishes a large number of leaflets on particular questions, samples of which will be sent free on receipt of postage, and which can be obtained in large quantities at specially cheap rates.

From the Woman's Press can also be obtained books on the Woman's Suffrage question, and picture post cards of the leaders of the N.W.S.P.U., and of many of the incidents in the agitation.

BADGES AND COLOURS.

The following can also be obtained:—

- Button Badges with the words "Votes for Women" ... 1d. each.
- Ribbon Badges (woven "Votes for Women") ... 1d. each.
- Ribbon, 1½ ins. wide ... 9d. yard.
- Ribbon, 2 ins. wide ... 1/- yard.
- Scarves, 2½ yards long, 13 ins. wide ... 2/11 each.
- Ties ... 1/- each.
- Ribbon Belts, with Buckles ... 2/6 each.
- Regalia ... 1/11 each.
- Beadica Brooches ... 3/6 each.
- Leather Bags ... 2/6 & 5/6 each.

WOMEN DEMONSTRATORS OF THE PAST.

HOW THEY APPROACHED THE THREE POWERS OF THE REALM. By F. E. M. MACAULAY.

Opponents of Woman Suffrage are never tired of holding up as an example to the modern woman that legendary ancestress who, as they would have us believe, led such a quiet, retired life in the golden days of old, perfectly satisfied to spend her time in working at never-ending tapestry in a secluded bower. But the searchlight of history reveals a very different kind of personage. In every rank of society—not only among the mitred abbesses and great châtelaines, but also among the ordinary freewomen of the towns and cities—we find women playing an important part in the public as well as the private life of their day, for our foremothers realised that they owed certain duties to the community at large, of which they were full members, as well as to their own families.

The political rights of the duly qualified woman have already been discussed in a recent issue of this paper.* A few instances of the public spirit thereby engendered may be of interest, especially at the present moment.

A Deputation to the King.

One typical demonstration of women, which saved the lives of some innocent men, took place in the reign of Richard II., when the chief power in the country rested with the Crown. Accordingly it was to "owre lige Lorde," as the Mercers of London admiringly relate in a document of 1386, that "a company of gode women, where men dorst nought, travailled en barfote to seeke grace of hym for trewe men as they supposed." They were so successful that the tyrannical Lord Mayor, Nicholas Brember, "made such proclamacions that no man ne woman shold approche owre lige Lorde for sechyng of grace," but the Mercers summoned up courage to imitate the women, and petitioned the King themselves against the Lord Mayor's oppressions.

About half a century later, when the King (Henry VI.) was a minor, and the House of Lords the ruling power in the realm, "a crew of stout dames," the Elizabethan chronicler, Stowe, tells us in his "Annals," dared "to checke a great Duke in open Parliament" at Westminster. "The great Duke" was the Protector Humphrey of Gloucester, the young king's uncle and the second man in the kingdom, who had roused the anger of the London women by his treatment of his unfortunate wife, Jaqueline of Hainault. Stowe narrates approvingly that "in this Parliament there was one Mistris Stokes with divers other stout women of London, of good reckoning, well apparrelled, came openly to the upper Parliament and delivered letters to the Duke of Glocester, and to the Archbishops, and to other Lordes there present, containing matter of rebuke and sharpe reprehension of the Duke of Glocester, because hee would not deliver his wife Jaqueline out of her grievous imprysonment, being then helde prysoner by the Duke of Burgondy, suffering her there to remaine so unkindly, and for his publike keeping by him another adultresse, contrary to the law of God, and the honourable estate of matrimonie."

This generous indignation at an insult offered to a sister woman is a striking example of the sense of loyal comradeship existing (in spite of wide divergence in rank) among the freewomen of old, the revival of which is one of the most hopeful and encouraging features of our Woman's movement of to-day.

A Demonstration Outside Parliament.

More than two hundred years after the rebuke of Duke Humphrey, when, in 1641, Charles I. and the Commons were on the verge of the Civil War, resulting in the supremacy of the latter, the women of London, anxious to strengthen the resistance of the Lower House to the King's demands, "crowded much about the door of the Commons, they telling Serjeant-Major Skippon (the Commander of the Guard) that where there was one now there would be so next day." Skippon asked the House what he should do—it does not seem to have occurred to him to ride them down with his mounted troopers—and "the House bade him speak them fair." Then they went home, to return on the morrow in greater numbers, headed by Mrs. Anne Staggs, who carried a petition in which the women "count themselves to have an interest in the common privileges" with their husbands, and consider their action to be "a duty commanded and required"; whereupon "Mr. Pym came to the Commons' door, addressed the women, and told them that their petition had been thankfully accepted, and would be carefully considered," and the demonstrators, after this courteous reception (so different from that accorded to the deputation from Caxton Hall by Mr. Asquith last June), returned quietly home.

Verily, there were MEN in the House of Commons in those days!

These three typical instances of the part women formerly took in public affairs are full of significance for us just now. In the first place, our foremothers went straight to the fountain-head with their grievances—to the King, the Lords, or the Commons—wherever the seat of power happened to be; they wasted no time on unimportant people who could not give them what they wanted. Then, too, their aims were unselfish and public-spirited, whether they were saving the unjustly condemned, upholding the cause of a sister woman, or strengthening the hands of their leaders in the struggle for constitutional government.

Then and Now.

Lastly, a comparison of the admiration and encouragement they received from their fellow-citizens with the treatment meted out to the militant Suffragists to-day shows the difference made by the franchise in the political and social status of those who possess it. Our own "company of gode women," for attempting to perform exactly the same actions as their foremothers were praised for doing, have been thrown into prison as common criminals and covered with scorn and opprobrium. But the spirit that filled the freewomen of old is inspiring these, their worthy descendants, to-day, and is animating all of us who are sharing in the struggle to regain that noble heritage of political freedom which the women of the past enjoyed and used so well.

That spirit is irresistible, and the end of the struggle is already in sight.

* August 13, page 373, "In the Age of Chivalry."

THE CAMPAIGN IN LONDON.

A great campaign has been conducted during the past week in London, with the object of rousing the metropolis to attend the great demonstration in Parliament-square on Tuesday, October 13, at 7.30, when the women propose to send a deputation to Mr. Asquith to demand the inclusion of votes for women in the Government programme for the autumn session. The campaign has been mapped out, and has been in the charge of organisers and voluntary workers. In all about 100 meetings have been held during the week in different districts, including meetings in Westminster, Holborn, Finsbury, Lambeth, Kensington, Hammersmith, Chiswick, Fulham, Chelsea, Peckham, Greenwich, Woolwich, Poplar, and other places.

It has been interesting to notice that as the campaign proceeded the support of the audience has grown greater. Rowdy meetings one week have been sympathetic the next. Where collections have been taken they have produced larger and larger sums each time, and the supply of literature has had also to be increased. One man who had bought a copy of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* the week before last eagerly held out rd. for last week's paper, saying it was the best paper he had ever read.

In addition to the meetings out of doors, there have been a number of indoor gatherings, including meetings in the Kensington Town Hall, when the large and the small hall were requisitioned to hold the audience; meetings in Chiswick, Hammersmith Town Hall, and many other centres. Some of the churches have also opened their doors for addresses at the P.S.A.'s. A large number of papers have been sold in the streets, and parties have gone out chalking in different parts of London, announcing on the pavement the forthcoming meeting.

During the next few days the campaign will proceed with increased vigour, and suffragettes will be in evidence in every part of London. On Sunday, at 3 p.m., there will be a mass meeting in Trafalgar Square, when a large audience is expected, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Mrs. Drummond will give speeches calling attention to the need of women that this question should be settled at once, and asking that all sympathisers shall be present in Parliament-square on Tuesday next at half-past seven to show their support for the women.

One of our members writes to ask to be allowed to go with the deputation to Mr. Asquith, and the following letter is her reply to one accepting her services:—

DEAR MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE,

Many thanks for your welcome letter to-day. To do something for our splendid Cause is all I desire. I am quite willing to simply follow the deputation, or otherwise to act in any way you order. But I am weary of talking and of listening to others, however eloquent. Thanking you for at last giving me a chance to show that I believe in action.

It is in this spirit that our members are sending in their names and asking for instructions as to what to do on October 13.

The At Home in Queen's Hall.

One of the most inspiring events was the great and crowded audience which assembled at the Monday afternoon At Home in the Queen's Hall, and which listened with rapt attention to the speeches of the leaders of the movement. For the benefit of many who were there for the first time, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence recounted the principal points of the women's demand. Mrs. Pankhurst called upon those present to do their part on Tuesday next, and asked for volunteers to take part in the deputation on that day. Without a moment's delay women rose up from all parts of the hall to express their willingness to be among that number, and to take part in the deputation at whatever cost.

Mrs. Lawrence then asked for subscriptions towards the winter campaign fund. In a few minutes £280 was subscribed, and a further £30 was given by the audience in the collection. Miss Elizabeth Robins addressed the meeting on the subject of Woman's Suffrage in America, showing the difficulty under which women laboured in that confederacy of States. Finally, Miss Christabel Pankhurst explained the necessity of women making interruptions at Cabinet Ministers' meetings, and carried her audience with her in her statement that the women were not going to be deterred by threats or entreaties from pursuing their course to victory.

"THE WESTERN MORNING NEWS," September 30.

The day before the meeting of Parliament there is to be a demonstration in Trafalgar-square by the Suffragettes, to be fol-

lowed by "something terrible" on the 13th unless a Ministerial promise is given that the suffrage will be extended to women at an early date. As the suffragettes, with a prevision developed by recent events, anticipate that the Government cannot last many months, they are naturally anxious to get the evasive Ministers to give a pledge, though they do not attach much importance to Radical pledges.

That the Government fear the suffragette demonstrations more than they do the unemployed agitation may be taken for granted. The unemployed can be kept under more or less control by the police, but the constabulary is powerless before the multitude that the suffragettes can rally in Westminster. The resourceful leaders hint darkly at some new form of torture for unhappy Ministers when next the ladies give expression to their disappointment, and as they have shown rare ingenuity in their methods of attack so far there ought to be a mighty crowd to see what will happen on October 13.

Constitution of the National Women's Social and Political Union.

OBJECTS.—To secure for women the Parliamentary vote as it is or may be granted to men; to use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes, and to promote the social and industrial well-being of the community.

METHODS.—The objects of the Union shall be promoted by—

1. Action entirely independent of all political parties.
2. Opposition to whatever Government is in power until such time as the franchise is granted.
3. Participation in Parliamentary Elections in opposition to the Government candidate, and independently of all other candidates.
4. Vigorous agitation upon lines justified by the position of outlawry to which women are at present condemned.
5. The organising of women all over the country to enable them to give adequate expression to their desire for political freedom.
6. Education of public opinion by all the usual methods, such as public meetings, demonstrations, debates, distribution of literature, newspaper correspondence, and deputations to public representatives.

MEMBERSHIP.—Women of all shades of political opinion who approve the objects and methods of the Union, and who are prepared to act independently of party, are eligible for membership. It must be clearly understood that no member of the Union shall support the candidate of any political party in Parliamentary elections until women have obtained the parliamentary vote.

READY SHORTLY.

THE BOUND VOLUME ... OF ... 'VOTES FOR WOMEN.'

Containing the Seven Monthly and
Twenty-Two Weekly Numbers

For the Year OCTOBER, 1907, to SEPTEMBER, 1908
with a Complete Index,

Is in course of Preparation, and will be ready in about a Fortnight.

The Binding is in the Colours of the Union,

WITH A SPECIAL DESIGN

BY

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.

Price 10/- Complete.
(By post 10/6.)

ORDER AT ONCE From the Publisher 'Votes for Women.'
As the Supply is Limited.

The INDEX can be Obtained Separately, price 2d., post free, 3d.
Members' Own Copies can be Bound with Index for 6/-, by post, 6/6.

PROGRESS OF WOMEN.

The decision in the County Court that a wife may not even have the right to the dresses provided for her by her husband will come as a surprise to those who hold that women's liberties can be properly safeguarded by men.

Followers of Florence Nightingale.

If anyone doubts that submission under wrongs results in continued denial of rights they cannot do better than study the position of a hospital nurse, and we are glad to see that the cudgels are now being taken up on her behalf. On Saturday last a strong article appeared in the *Times* from the pen of Miss Lucy Ashby, a member of the Royal British Nurses Association, in which she exposed the serious ill-treatment to which the hospital nurse is constantly subject. The *Times* took the matter up in a leading article, and admitted that most of the points which Miss Ashby made were proved.

"We imagine," the writer says, "that the first committee who had the courage to abandon the petty restrictions now commonly insisted upon, and to permit the nurses, within all reasonable limits, to live their own lives, and to follow their own tastes, would speedily be rewarded by securing the services of the very best members of the calling, and by evoking the spirit of loyalty which is the natural outcome of a treatment based upon respect and consideration." And the article concludes with a powerful appeal on behalf of freedom, which certainly applies not only to nursing, but to many other matters connected with women. "The sick place themselves unreservedly in the hands of trained nurses, and yield implicit obedience to their instructions. It is surely too much to say that these women, who are trusted every day of their lives to control others, and on whose care may often depend issues of life and death, cannot be trusted to control themselves, to take food enough for their bodily requirements, or the exercise necessary for the preservation of their health. It is less reasonable still to suppose that, in their hours off duty, they are not fit to be their own mistresses, and to live such lives as their tastes may dictate or their opportunities allow. Freedom is one of the best and most effective of educators; and a woman who has been kept in leading strings when she was quite able to govern herself is not likely to develop strength of character against the time when those leading strings are relaxed."

Equal Pay for Equal Work.

From information which has reached us it appears that although no law exists in Norway prohibiting the appointment of a woman as school inspector, should one be appointed, a Bill would have to be passed concerning her salary. The law on this point is eminently unsatisfactory, since it provides that men employed by the Minister of Education must be paid more than women. It is not surprising that the Teachers' Association is dissatisfied with this phase of the question. The leaders say that if a woman is appointed it will only be after proving to be a successful competitor over a man at the competitive examination, and that they therefore conclude that her salary should be equal to his.

Male Clerks' Revolt.

It is a sign of the times that men are beginning to realise that it is no use trying to stop the competition of women by excluding them from employment, but that the right way to meet undercutting is by joining forces with the women in demanding equal pay for equal work. To this opinion the National Union of Clerks are rapidly coming. They have for a long time been faced with the entrance of an increasing number of women clerks, estimated at 50,000 in the United Kingdom. Discussing the question with a representative of the *Daily Chronicle*, Mr. Herbert Elvin, secretary of the Union, said: "Our Union does not look upon the women as avowed enemies of the men; in fact, we admit them to membership of our Union on the same conditions as men: equal work, equal pay. A woman member of our Union must not undercut a man. We recognise that in some cases women have just as much ability as men, and we say they ought to get the same rate of payment as men."

A Lady's Victory in Chemistry.

Miss Gertrude Holland Wren was presented last week with one of the most distinguished prizes of the pharmaceutical world. It was the much-coveted Pereira medal. During the

47 years the medal has been annually awarded, the honour has fallen to many notable pharmacists, but Miss Wren is the first lady to have secured it, and this explained the unstinted and enthusiastic applause which greeted her achievement. Twenty-two years of age, the medallist studied at the Pharmaceutical College since she was 18, and in proof of her industry it was commonly known that when she left the college at six o'clock she continued her studies privately for many hours every evening. She commenced her education at the Girls' High School in Camden Town. It is understood that Miss Wren will turn her rich professional knowledge into practical use, so that, in addition to lady doctors, we shall see lady chemists.

A New Lady Playwright.

Another play written by a woman was produced on Monday last. Miss Gertrude Robins, author of "Makeshifts," has crowded a variety of vocations into her life, from poultry farming to that of an artist's model. While in her teens she took honours in modern languages at Oxford, and then scored her first stage success with Wilson Barrett. Since playing lead in his last finest drama, "Lucky Durham," she has appeared in many London productions, including "The Winter's Tale" at His Majesty's, and "When Knights were Bold" at Wyndham's. It was while playing with Mr. James Welch that the idea of "Makeshifts" occurred to her. Miss Robins writes her plays, short stories, &c., at her country retreat—a picturesque, old-world farm in Buckinghamshire. The play has been presented to the public by another lady, Miss A. E. F. Horniman, who had the distinction of enabling Mr. Bernard Shaw's "Arms and the Man," and Mr. W. B. Yeats' "Land of Heart's Desire," first to see the light.

Learning from the Stars.

Astronomy offers a peculiarly attractive career to women, as Miss Mary Proctor, daughter of the late well-known astronomer, Mr. R. A. Proctor, has discovered. Miss Proctor has been successful on several occasions in observing a phenomenon which many astronomers will envy, viz., a complete solar eclipse; and she is probably the only woman with so wide a record. The photographs which Miss Proctor took at Bodo in Norway, Norfolk in Virginia, and Burgos in Spain, will be reproduced by her during the lecturing tour which she is about to undertake in this country.

Women as Revolutionists.

Wherever there is a revolution there are generally to be found women in the ranks, and we learn, not with surprise, that this is the case in India, as well as in Russia and in Turkey. An organisation of women has been formed in Calcutta for the purpose of taking a vigorous part in the agitation against the supremacy of British rule. The motto of the organisation is "India for the Indian people."

Lady Guardian's Services.

At Huddersfield recently Miss Emily Frances Siddon, vice-chairman of the Board of Guardians, was presented with a life-size portrait of herself, an illuminated address, and a gold, diamond, and pearl pendant, in recognition of her 26 years' service on the board. Miss Siddon gave the portrait to the Guardians to be hung in the board room. Miss Siddon has been vice-chairman of the board for five years, and twice declined the chairmanship. She was one of the first 27 women in England to become a member of a Board of Guardians. The number of women members is now well over a thousand.

Lady Marksmen.

While the assertion frequently made that women cannot fight has been as often refuted by the facts of history, it may be noted that women have started a rifle range at Carisbrooke, and that a woman has recently proved a good second in a mixed rifle competition.

Miss Alicia Adelaide Needham, the well-known composer, has just published four Suffragette songs. These are entitled "Marching On," "Daughters of England," "Fighting On," and "Clipped Wings." The songs can be had complete for 2s., post free, by writing Miss Needham's secretary, 34, King's-avenue, Clapham Park, London, S.W.

The National Women's Social & Political Union.

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

Telegraphic Address—"WOSPOLU, LONDON."

Telephone 5550 Holborn.

Mrs. PANKHURST,

Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE,

Founder and Hon. Sec.

Hon. Treasurer

Mrs. TUKE,

Joint Hon. Sec.

Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

Organising Sec.

WHAT WE SHALL DO ON OCTOBER 13.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE N.W.S.P.U.

My Dear Comrades in the Fight for Freedom,—

On the 12th instant Parliament meets to continue the work of legislation.

The Government will endeavour to carry through their final stages certain measures already considered by the House of Commons.

The Bill for the Enfranchisement of Women, which earlier in the year passed its second reading by a great majority, finds no place in the Government programme, although every effort has been made by women and their friends to convince the Cabinet that it is expedient, as well as just, that the disability of sex should be removed without further delay.

Great demonstrations, exceeding in size those ever held in support of any other question, have taken place all over the country.

At the by-elections the voters have voted against the Government on the issue of votes for women.

To all these manifestations of the peoples will the Government continue blind and deaf.

It is for us who are called the militant women to take further action, and to show our determination to break down this obstinate resistance to our just demand.

On the 13th we meet in the Caxton Hall, and we have asked those who support our demands to assemble in Parliament-square.

From our meeting in Caxton Hall will be chosen a deputation to go again as deputations have gone before to the House of Commons, to enter the House, and, if possible, the Chamber itself, and lay our claim to the vote before the Government and Parliament.

Women have a constitutional right, being voteless, to plead their cause in person. We shall insist on that right on the 13th. Already many women have volunteered for this duty, the doing of which may mean the loss for a time of personal liberty. I appeal to each of our members to ask herself if she is prepared to make this sacrifice for the sake of all women. We know, the country knows, and the Government knows, that our so-called militant action has forced the question of Votes for Women into the very forefront of practical politics.

We have the support and sympathy of the best men and women. Public opinion is with us, and we have only to press forward to win complete victory in the very near future.

On the 13th, in Parliament-square, there will be many thousands of people to see fair play between the women and the Government. Let us keep their support and co-operation by showing them, as we have done before, with what quiet courage, self-restraint, and determination women are fighting against the tyranny and oppression on the part of a Government which has been called the strongest of modern times. It is by the exercise of courage and self-restraint, and persistent effort that we shall win in this unequal contest.

Thousands of our fellow countrywomen, who are unable, by their circumstances, to take an active part in the

fight, are looking to us to obtain for them their political freedom.

All over the world women are gaining hope and courage from our efforts here in England.

Let us then show the world, on October 13, 1908, that British women are determined to be free citizens of a free country before the year comes to an end.

Yours, in the Woman's Cause,

Emmeline Pankhurst.

OUR RIGHTS AS TAXPAYERS.

We mean, if it is physically possible, to get our deputation inside the House of Commons on October 13, in order that it may obtain a hearing from the Prime Minister. If we succeed, we shall put our case before this potentate, and plead before him the justice, the necessity, and the urgency of women's enfranchisement. If we fail, then, as Mr. Lloyd George said of the people of Wales, we shall at least have saved our souls from degradation by making our protest against oppression and wrong.

By going in this way to the House of Commons we exhaust all the methods open to us of peaceably enforcing our just claim. It has been our consistent practice to hold demonstrations, to pass resolutions and forward them to the Government, to appeal to electors at by-elections and secure an expression of their disapproval of the Government, and at the end of each stage of peaceful agitation in the country we have attempted to send a deputation to the Prime Minister to place our case personally before him. On every occasion, instead of receiving our deputation, the Government has called out a large force of the police, mounted or on foot, to protect the House of Commons against weaponless and unarmed women.

In going to the House of Commons we are acting within our right, and in accordance with historical precedent. The House of Commons is the House of the common people, in which term women as well as men are included. Women as well as men pay for its upkeep and maintenance. And women as well as men pay the salaries of Cabinet Ministers, presumably that their business as well as men's may be attended to. Women as well as men contribute the money that is expended upon the administration of the laws of the country. Men have no exclusive claim to national property. And as women are not represented within the walls of the House of Commons, they have no alternative but to present themselves in person. It is only as usurpers that men can close the doors of the People's House against them.

On October 13 we shall send our deputation to the House of Commons, not as rebels, but as taxpayers who have a right to be heard. We shall go as peaceable subjects (I cannot say citizens), unarmed and weaponless. We shall go as people who, robbed of their constitutional rights, fall back upon the human right of appeal to the rulers who have assumed the responsibility of making themselves absolute arbiters of our life and fate. If this last human right is denied to us, then at least we will show that we women of Britain are not slaves in spirit, though our lives and liberties are in the hands of ruthless masters. We will not submit to be driven like sheep from the door. We shall stand every inch of our ground.

The record of this struggle has shown that the authorities cannot frighten women as they have frightened men demonstrators. The police will tell them that. They will tell them that the women are far harder to tackle than men, and that they cannot be put to flight.

In February, 1907, when the mounted force were called out, the women stood their ground until they were knocked down or arrested, and the attempt to stop the

agitation by fear was proved once and for all an ignominious and hopeless failure.

Our rulers will have to deal with us on the 13th. One way or another they will be forced to deal with us. They must choose the way. They can deal rationally and rightly and generously, or they can deal once more senselessly, ruthlessly, and vindictively. And, in the latter case, we shall stand up to them, and shall defy them to do their worst, defy them to put the first postulates of justice, liberty, and constitutional Government to open shame in this country, once called free.

Never for one moment do we doubt the outcome of women's fight for liberty. For the sake of humanity we have suffered the rebuke and reproach of an unthinking world. But right is might, and truth is sure to win. We see the coming, swift and sure, of a morrow which will reverse the previous judgment of the world. Shame and rebuke will be the portion of those who have been false to their great responsibility and trust. And to those who make the great sacrifice to-day will come the reward of having broken the fetters that for many generations have kept in bondage the soul of woman.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

PROTESTS AT MEETINGS.

Cabinet Ministers have re-appeared upon the public platform, and at every meeting they are confronted by women who demand the enfranchisement of their sex. The *Manchester Guardian* devotes a leading article to the discussion of this matter. The article opens with the statement that it is difficult for Liberals who support the claim of women to the suffrage to regard with patience this method of agitation, which is described as being "a not very glorious policy," and as having in it "a certain element of cowardice." The fact that it is not pursued at by-elections is commented upon, the suggestion being made that "at a by-election retribution could and would swiftly overtake such violations of fairness, of courtesy, and of the democratic principle of public discussion." The effect of these protests is, the *Manchester Guardian* declares, that "a rather violent feeling of irritation is created in the minds of the audience, of the speaker, and of politicians generally, who see their most distinguished leaders—whether friends or foes to woman suffrage, it makes no difference, all are treated alike—thus exposed to rudeness and violence." Next comes the assertion that it can hardly be thought that even the weakest and most cowardly of Governments could be terrorised by such means, but that they can be alienated.

There is nothing in all this which in the smallest degree disturbs our confidence in the rightness and effectiveness of the plan of protesting at Cabinet Ministers' meetings. It is termed an inglorious and cowardly policy, but clearly such a charge is very wide of the mark. Let us first consider what it is that suffragists actually do at the meetings in question. At Swansea, when Mr. Lloyd George was declaiming against the existence of privilege, which he declared had a bad effect on the spirit of the people, and when he was asserting that injustice produces degradation which can only be prevented by protesting against it, a woman pointed out that his words were applicable to the case of women who demand the vote. Again, when he claimed that the Liberal Party is building up the temple of liberty in this country to the last brick, another woman exclaimed: "You have left out the women." For this, they were insulted by the speaker and violently ejected from the meeting. Later on, when speaking of unemployment, Mr. Lloyd George was interrupted by a man who cried: "Why did you vote against the Right to Work Bill?" This man was neither denounced nor ejected—a curious commentary upon Mr. Lloyd George's assertion that to throw women out of the meetings is to treat them like men.

Having described the action taken by suffragists at Liberal meetings, we may enquire a little further into the charge of cowardice which the *Manchester Guardian* brings against the suffragists. A Member of Parliament said to me not long ago: "I have the greatest admiration for the pluck of those women who will stand up against the will of thousands of other people gathered at a public meeting, to call for what they believe to be justice. I know it to be one of the most diffi-

cult things in the world, and I could not do it myself." But, in addition to the moral courage to which this tribute was paid, physical courage also is demanded of the women who make these protests. They run the risk of injury on their ejection from the meetings. No mercy is shown them by those entrusted with the task of ridding Cabinet Ministers of their presence. Mr. Lloyd George, by urging that they shall be "ruthlessly flung out" of meetings, has encouraged his followers to added violence. The matter does not end at the doors of Liberal meetings, for suffragists are the victims of what some are pleased to call "retaliation" on the part of any irresponsible and rowdy person who may choose to inflict injury upon them. The Cabinet Minister, in a hall filled with a partisan audience admitted by ticket, surrounded by stewards and often by the police, whines at a woman's interruption, while suffragists, unguarded, face the general public in the market-place, and without murmuring run daily risk of physical injury, which risk is intensified by the incitement to violence which comes from Cabinet Ministers. Nevertheless, women have not the slightest intention of desisting from further protest by a knowledge of the consequences which may follow.

Any perplexity arising from the fact that Suffragists are absent from by-election meetings addressed by Cabinet Ministers is easily removed. At by-elections, appeal is made not to the Government, but to a higher power—to the electors themselves, who are able to control the action of the Cabinet Ministers. An adverse vote at the polling-booth will do more to bring about a change of policy by the Government than any protest addressed to them by voteless women.

No Friends in the Cabinet.

We can as easily dispose of the further question as to why we do not discriminate between our avowed opponents and our so-called friends. To have friends in a Cabinet which as a whole is hostile to our cause is a political impossibility, because according to constitutional practice every member of the Cabinet is jointly responsible with his colleagues. Accordingly, membership of the present Cabinet is in itself a contradiction of the professions of friendship made by Mr. Lloyd George and others.

The *Manchester Guardian* asserts, and we are well aware, that our action at their meetings angers, in addition to Cabinet Ministers, many other members of the Liberal party, but, as Mr. Asquith has it, one cannot make omelettes without breaking eggs, and after all, it is better that rank and file Liberals should be angry than that they should be indifferent, and happily, anger with the Suffragists is more and more giving way to a feeling of indignation with the Liberal leaders, whose refusal to obey Liberal principles has brought about the present conflict with women. Already we notice a great change of attitude on the part of Liberals and the public generally in regard to the action which we take at meetings.

The serious part of the *Manchester Guardian's* case against us is the contention that the policy in question will not avail to bring pressure to bear on the Government. Facts, however, point to a quite opposite conclusion. Judging from the elaborate precautions taken to prevent the entrance of Suffragists from Liberal meetings, and judging also by the demeanour of Cabinet Ministers, these protests are feared and disliked to an extent greater than we could have hoped. We are therefore of opinion that we have everything to gain and nothing to lose by a continuance of them. The warning that they may have the effect of alienating Cabinet Ministers arouses no anxiety, because to make members of the present Government more unfavourable to Woman Suffrage than they originally were is an impossibility. On the other hand, we are convinced that by the persistent use of this and other means of embarrassing them, the members of the present Government will very soon be made to feel that the price to be paid for denying votes to women is too high. In consequence of our militant campaign their prestige is suffering, the effect of their public appearance is marred, they are deemed by onlookers to be getting the worst of the conflict with the Suffragettes. Not the votes for women cause, but the Liberal party is being discredited by the present course of events, and every friend of Liberalism would do well to cease from remonstrating with the Women's Social and Political Union, and instead to call upon the Liberal leaders to carry the measure for women's enfranchisement into law.

Christabel Pankhurst.

PROTESTS AT CABINET MINISTERS' MEETINGS.

A number of women took the opportunity of cross-questioning Mr. Lloyd George upon Woman's Suffrage at a great meeting held by him in Swansea last week. As a result Mr. Lloyd George completely lost his temper, and made a number of statements which he would find it very difficult to seriously support. One was to the effect that the women who had taken part in these protests were paid for their work, and that it was becoming a profession. Another statement was to the effect that the Liberal Government had not given Woman's Suffrage because of the action of the militant section of Suffragettes. He also, in no measured terms, instructed the stewards to fling the women out, and, with pitiable want of logic, declared that because they were demanding equal rights with men therefore before these were conceded they should suffer equal penalties. Probably, however, the most inaccurate statement of all was to the effect that he was not in the least perturbed by the action of the women.

According to the *South Wales Daily News*, the "Suffragettes came near to spoiling one of the most magnificent meetings ever held in Swansea." They made their presence evident before the Chancellor had been on his feet ten minutes, and six of them were summarily ejected from the meeting.

The first woman to interrupt sat below the gallery, and asked the plain question why the Government refused to give votes to women. In reply, Mr. Lloyd George said: "I can assure you these women do not perturb me in the slightest degree, but by and by we shall have to order sacks for them, and the first to interrupt shall disappear." He was continuing to speak of the measures carried by the Liberal Government, when a woman cried: "Still you have not given votes for women." A scene of indescribable confusion and excitement followed, and Mr. Lloyd George said: "Leave her alone now; if she does not behave she and her friends must be flung out ruthlessly. These ladies have been claiming equal terms with men; if men had behaved like this, I know what would have happened long ago. Very well, if they go on, take them at their words. (Laughter, and a voice, "Frog march them.") After several of the women had been ejected, a woman asked: "Why have you left out the women?" She was thrown out, and Mr. Lloyd George remarked: "That lady made a great effort to keep her tongue, but the task was too much for her; still, before she went she put a very pertinent question to me; but there is a very good answer, and it is because the attack of these women is making the advocacy of their cause totally impossible." Later in the proceedings, when another woman had asked a question, the Chancellor said: "I wonder how much she has been paid for coming here? (A Voice: "Tory money," and cheers). I am sorry to say this business is becoming a profession."

Addressing a meeting outside the hall, Mr. Lloyd George said: "They who were in the Cabinet were getting accustomed to the visitation of female Suffragists. (Laughter.) However, they were getting casehardened to it, and really his only regret was he was afraid it was doing harm to the cause which these ladies imagined—and he thought honestly imagined—they were advancing. They were creating resentment. They were creating, he thought, a good deal of honest indignation. Personally, he was an honest believer in the cause of Woman's Suffrage. He believed that temperance would be promoted by the extension of votes to women, but he thought that these young people—some of them, he was sorry to say, very hysterical—were ill-advised in the tactics they were pursuing."

With regard to Mr. Lloyd George's statement about the treatment of women at meetings, it should be remembered that the *Daily News*, in a recent leading article, stated that: "It too often happens that the moment a woman raises her voice, even in the politest of questions, she is exposed to violence such as the stewards and other members of the audience would never dream of showing to a man for the same cause."

In reference to Mr. Lloyd George's assertion that the women were paid for coming to disturb his meeting, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence at once wrote him a letter stating that, as treasurer of the Women's Social and Political Union, she was able to give a denial to the suggestion conveyed by these words, and desiring to ask him what justification he had to offer for their use.

Letter from Mr. Lloyd George.

Lydstep Haven, Penally, R.S.O., Pembrokeshire.

MADAM,—Although you state in your letter of October 2 that you are awaiting my reply, I only received that letter two days after you had communicated it to the Press.

You ask for a justification of my inquiry as to what some of the ladies who disturbed public meetings were being paid. You deny that any of the ladies who were guilty of this stupid rowdiness—which you and your husband so strongly deprecated during the

Boer War, but which you now so strenuously encourage in others without participating in the risks yourselves—receive any money from your organisation or persons connected with it.

I observe from the report you are good enough to send me that very considerable sums of money were dispensed last year as "salaries," "travelling expenses," and "special board and lodging." Do I understand you to say that not one penny of this money goes to any of your regular public meetings disturbers?

There is one sentence in your report which I must enter a protest against. The committee state that "many women also have faced rough treatment at public meetings in order that they might put questions to Cabinet Ministers."

I have specifically, on more than one occasion—and I name Birmingham as an instance—invited the ladies to put a question to me in the ordinary course at the end of my speech, and I promised that every fair play should be given them, and that I should endeavour to answer such questions as they put to me.

This is the course which is always adopted with every other question, speakers being interrogated at the end of their speech; and you must realise it is the only fair, reasonable, and orderly way of conducting public meetings.

But the ladies to whom this courteous invitation was addressed have invariably refused it, choosing rather to interrupt by questions which at the moment they were put were obviously irrelevant, thus showing that their object was not to put questions to Cabinet Ministers, but to provoke a disturbance which would attract attention to themselves. It is, therefore, strictly untrue to state that women have been subjected to rough treatment in their endeavour to put questions to Cabinet Ministers.

I very much regret having to enter into an unpleasant controversy of this kind with persons with whose objects I so sincerely sympathise, and whom I hope to assist in the promotion of those objects by means which are not so disastrous as yours are to the sacred cause of free speech.

Yours truly,

D. LLOYD GEORGE.

October 5, 1908.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's Reply.

DEAR SIR,—The report of your remarks in the *Times* is as follows:—

"I wonder how much some of these ladies are paid for coming here to disturb our meeting. I am sorry to say it appears to be becoming a profession."

You attempt to justify this by calling attention to the money expended on salaries and expenses and special board and lodging by our Union, and by asking whether any of this has ever been paid to any of the women who have protested at meetings.

In reply, I have to say that while salaries are paid to our political agents, as they are to the permanent staff of all political parties, for the purpose of organising campaigns in various parts of the country, and while these organisers are sometimes present at Cabinet Ministers' meetings the protests are almost entirely made by members of the Union who give their time and work without fee or reward. In addition many of them have given money and suffered imprisonment for the cause.

Thus, of the 30 women who raised protests during your speech at the Queen's Hall on July 28, and who were all ejected, 29 have never at any time been in receipt of any salary from our Union.

Of the five women who took part in protesting at your meeting at Swansea, four have never been in receipt of any salary from our Union, and the fifth was not receiving any salary at that time.

You further isolate one sentence out of our report, and base the argument upon it that we are misrepresenting the issue. Had you read on you would have found these words:—

"Another form of militant action undertaken by members of the Union has been that of making protests at public meetings addressed by Cabinet Ministers against the refusal of the Government to grant votes for women. Undismayed by ejection, women have persistently availed themselves of these opportunities of drawing the attention of the public and of the Government to their political grievance."

From this you will see that we do not attempt to disguise the fact that our principal object is to make protests at meetings of Cabinet Ministers. In this we follow the course adopted by men reformers. According to a Liberal M.P. (Dr. Cooper) "very few public speakers who were opposed to the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to men, whether members of the Cabinet or otherwise, could utter a single word at a public meeting." As you are probably aware "the right of free speech" means the right of public meeting without interference by the authorities, and it has never been interpreted to mean that intelligent protests may not be made from the audience during the course of the speech.

In point of fact, our members have on many occasions consented to reserve their questions till the close of the speech. Notwithstanding, they have been in many cases violently ejected, as they were in Manchester at Sir Edward Grey's meeting in October, 1905. In other cases their question as to whether the present Government will grant

votes for women has only served to draw from you and certain of your colleagues evasive replies.

I have the pleasure to send you a leaflet and our paper **VOTES FOR WOMEN**, in which you will find this question dealt with at greater length.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

Press Extracts

"THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN," October 3 (Leading Article).

It is difficult for Liberals who support the claim of women to the suffrage to regard with patience the action of a section—happily only a section—of the suffragists. The practice adopted by Mrs. Pankhurst's organisation, the Social and Political Union, of organised interruption of public meetings addressed by Cabinet Ministers is steadily pursued, and was illustrated afresh at Mr. Lloyd George's meeting at Swansea on Thursday. It is not a very glorious policy, and it appears to us to have in it a certain element of cowardice. It is not pursued at by-elections. At by-elections a Cabinet Minister may speak and he is not interrupted, as Mr. Lloyd George spoke and was not interrupted at the recent by-election in Manchester. Why this difference? Is it because at a by-election retribution could and would swiftly overtake such violations of fairness, of courtesy, and of the democratic principle of freedom of public discussion? At least we know of no other reason. At other times retribution must be postponed, and much may be presumed from the immense tolerance and the short political memory of the average male elector. An effect, of course, is produced, and from our point of view it is a bad effect. A rather violent feeling of irritation, inevitable and not the least blameworthy, is created in the minds of the audience, of the speaker, and of politicians generally, who see their most distinguished leaders—whether friends or foes to women's suffrage makes no difference, all are treated alike—thus exposed to rudeness and violence. It is possible that to produce this feeling of irritation is the very object—again we speak under correction, for no rational explanation has ever been vouchsafed—of the whole apparently senseless proceeding. It can hardly be thought that serious pressure can be applied in this way. No one could imagine that even the weakest and most cowardly of Governments or parties could be terrorised by such means, nor, surely, could anyone wish that such a thing were possible. But they can be alienated, and that is the effect which, unfortunately, is now being produced. That is obvious, and it could not but be foreseen. Therefore, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, we must suppose it to have been designed. No doubt what alienates one political party may not equally alienate the political party opposed to it, and to flout distinguished Liberals may be thought to be a pleasant offering to Conservatives. For our part, we incline to think better of politicians on either side than to suppose that they would welcome such doubtful aid, and we do not think it would make it easier for Conservatives, when their turn of power comes, to take up a cause thus, to a certain extent, discredited. But, discreditable though these proceedings may be, it is to be hoped that they will not be regarded as typical of the political sense or conduct of the future woman elector, or that anybody will allow his opinions on the woman's suffrage question or his action in regard to it to be seriously affected one way or another. The Women's Social and Political Union is dominated by a very small number of women, and has, we believe, no sort of popular and representative organisation. If its leaders make mistakes and show bad feeling or small sense, that need not greatly disturb us. The cause is a good deal bigger than some of its advocates, and, after all, some impatience may be excused.

This leading article drew forth several letters from correspondents who took the side of the women. The editor, in a footnote to one of them, says:—

Obviously this is a form of violence. That it is apt to be met by excessive violence on the other side is no justification of it; it is one of the reasons why we regret it. We regret some of the expressions used by Mr. Lloyd George, and it is perfectly possible that, in cold blood, he regrets them himself.

"THE LANCASHIRE DAILY POST."

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has been quick to take up the insinuation made by Mr. Lloyd George in his speech at Swansea. The Minister did not intend, of course, to say anything ungenerous, but the President of the Women's Social and Political Union naturally feels very keenly on the subject. It is a mystery how these organisations are kept in such vitality—a mystery, that is to say, to those who do not follow their working. But it is enthusiasm that leads those associated with the movement to do the work they do; and there is no question about their action being self-sacrificing as regards toil.

Mr. Asquith at Earleton

In spite of the most elaborate precautions to exclude any but ardent supporters, a woman found her way into Mr. Asquith's meeting at Earleton, and at an early stage in the proceedings protested that he ought to give votes to qualified women.

She was, of course, ejected after considerable uproar, being followed by a large crowd, who were evidently more interested in the Suffragettes than in the Prime Minister.

Meanwhile, a man who interrupted the speaker several times was left in undisturbed possession of his seat.

Mr. Harcourt at Rossendale.

Though Mr. Harcourt admitted no likely Suffragettes to his meeting in the Rossendale Valley, he cannot have been pleased with his reception.

A successful Votes for Women meeting was held outside the hall, and Mr. Harcourt was greeted with cries of opposition on his arrival. A resolution calling on the Government to grant votes to women was presented to him, to which he replied at the end of the meeting:—

"I hold the same opinion on this subject which I have held all along, and I don't think at this moment there is the slightest change in any way whatsoever."

Loud cries of "Shame!" were heard on every hand, and again the hissing began, much to Mr. Harcourt's evident discomfiture.

The Question Evaded by Mr. Runciman.

Mr. Runciman was tackled at Aberystwyth by suffragettes during his speech at the University.

After Mr. Runciman had delivered a short address, and when he rose to accept the vote of thanks, a lady got up and put a question about votes for women. Nobody in the hall was more astonished than the Minister of Education. But he quickly recovered, and said that, as a representative of the Government, he thought women should be educated first.

Pointing to the lady teachers of the University staff, the lady retorted with another question: "Why don't you give them the vote when they are educated?"

By this time the officials had begun to realise the situation, and the lady and her party were requested to leave, which they did. Outside the University, however, they borrowed a chair, and setting up their pitch in close vicinity to Mr. Runciman's waiting carriage proceeded to preach the gospel which all Cabinet Ministers have learned to detest.

An admiring crowd gathered, and the lady, seeing Mr. Runciman taking his departure, called for cheers for "Votes for Women" to the music of which he drove away.

MR. SINCLAIR AT DUNDEE.

Suffragettes waited for the close of Mr. Sinclair's speech before putting questions to him. Then the following dialogue took place:—

Miss Clunas: Will the Government give the franchise to women?

Mr. Sinclair: Not so far as I know. We have other business to do.

Miss Clunas: The Licensing Bill affects women as well as men. Why were women not consulted?

Mr. Sinclair: The Bill affects women as well as men, and its benefits, I hope, will not be confined to men, but will be shared by the whole community.

Miss Clunas: You say the Government gave self-government to the South African people?

Mr. Sinclair replied "That is so," when Miss Clunas rejoined, amid laughter, "You have only given it to the men."

Miss Clunas: Do you believe in the maxim that taxation without representation is tyranny?

Mr. Sinclair: I don't regard the question of sex in this matter at all.

Miss Clunas: Neither do I. I ask do you believe taxation without representation is tyranny? Yes or no?

Mr. Sinclair: It depends on circumstances.

Miss Clunas: The Scottish Education Bill affects women as well as men. Why do the women teachers not have a voice in the question? There are more women teachers than men.

Mr. Sinclair: I fear you have under-rated the influence of women. The influence of ladies from the beginning of the world until now has been very great.

Miss Clunas: I protest against the quibbling way in which you have answered me. She then left the platform, remarking "It's no use asking questions."

As there were indications that another Suffragette was prepared to question the speaker, the Chairman announced that only constituents were invited to heckle the member.

The lady, however, persisted, and, reaching the platform, asked if the member was opposed to the enfranchisement of women.

Mr. Sinclair: Parliament is charged with carrying out certain important reforms for which the country is crying, and that is the work I wish to see put forward at any cost.

The Suffragette: That is not an answer to the question.

Mr. Sinclair: Madame, you have been good enough to ask me a question. I have given you a civil answer. That is all I can do.

Lloyd George Turns the Scale.

A woman writes to us from a London vicarage:—"Will you please enrol me as a member of the Social and Political Union. I have been wavering for some time, but Mr. Lloyd George has turned the scale!"

THE CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

WEST OF ENGLAND.

Shop and Committee Rooms: 33, Queen's-road (opposite Art Gallery), Clifton.
Open from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m.

At Homes.

Mondays, 3 to 5.—Victoria Assembly Rooms, Clifton.
Fridays, 7.30.—Hannah More Hall, Clifton.

Important Event.

November 20.—Mrs. Pankhurst at the Colston Hall.

During a large part of last week I was in Devonshire arranging for a big meeting in the Guildhall, Plymouth, on November 24, and another in the Bath Saloons, Torquay, in December, and from the reception I received, I have every confidence that these meetings will be a very big success.

In Bristol we have had a most encouraging week. The At Home on Monday was addressed by Miss Evelyn Sharp, from London. The room was full, and the people appreciated her speech very much. On Tuesday I spoke to a crowded audience in the Young Men's Christian Association, and they gave me half the collection. When I got back to Bristol I found that all the work had been going on well in my absence. On Friday at our At Home we had Miss Vera Holme with the magic lantern. The people enjoyed it immensely, and it showed them in many cases facts which they had not otherwise understood. Mrs. Leigh also spoke, and told them about the time she broke Mr. Asquith's windows.

I want to raise £6 a week, £1 5s. being for the rent of the shop, and £3 for halls, and the remainder for various expenses. Among other items, we cannot have speakers down from London unless we are prepared to pay their travelling expenses. In the West of England, too, there will be a great deal of work to be done, and I specially appeal to those who can help me for this, either with work or money, to write to me to 78, Alma-road, Clifton. I have sent up to the Treasurer £4 12s. 1d., this week's collections in Bristol.

I want all those who are interested to come to the At Homes every Monday afternoon in the Victoria Rooms, Clifton, and also to help in selling tickets for the Colston Hall meeting, November 20, which are on sale at 33, Queen's-road, Clifton, 5s., 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d.

Last week in my report a mistake was made. It read £10 from M. Colby and Miss Anne Colby; it should have read £10 from M. Colby and £10 from Miss Anne Colby. These are two veterans who have been working for the vote for almost 40 years, and they are now in our ranks demanding it from the Liberal Government.

Annie Kenney.

MANCHESTER.

At Homes.

Fridays, Onward Buildings, Deansgate, 8 to 10 p.m.

N.B.—As the Onward Buildings are engaged for the Church Congress, the At Home will not take place here this Friday. See below.

The Week's Doings.

In consequence of the visits of Cabinet Ministers to the district, effective protests have been made both in the case of the Right Hon. W. Runciman and the Right Hon. L. Harcourt. In the first case, Mr. Runciman, speaking at the Aberystwyth University, was asked what the Government was going to do for women. He replied that, as the representative of the Government, it was his duty to *educate women first*. When it was suggested that even when educated women were not granted votes the questioners were conducted to the door.

In Mr. Harcourt's case in the Rossendale Valley, I have it on very good authority that the protest meeting which Mrs. Baines held outside the Crawshawbooth Assembly Rooms, was many times greater than the Cabinet Minister's meeting inside; and the sympathy was undoubtedly with the women. Manchester members took part in both of these protests, and the Press gave good reports.

Our At Home this week was a great success, and a warm welcome was given to Mrs. Martel on her return to Lancashire from the Newcastle by-election. Mrs. Martel dealt convincingly with the significance of votes for women in practice in Australia, and the benefits which had accrued to the general public in consequence of the political freedom of their women.

Next week Mrs. Martel will visit both Preston and Liverpool, and we trust we shall have her with us again ere the week is over. In consequence of the visit of the Church Congress to Manchester next week, I have arranged a special At Home to take place in the Portico Library on Tuesday. The whole of the resident and the visiting clergy have been invited. The Rev. L. Donaldson, vicar of St. Mark's, Leicester, and the author of a telling pamphlet entitled "The Religion of Women's Suffrage," will be the principal speaker. I am making negotiations, too, for a second At Home to take place in the same Library on Friday, instead of the usual

Onward Building, the whole of which was long ago booked for the Church Congress Committee. Will members and friends please watch the columns of the local papers on Friday morning for confirmation of this?

A Scheme for Lancashire.

It has been decided to discontinue work as a local union, and work henceforth as National members, with, it is hoped, complete National offices at no distant date. At a meeting of the Manchester Local Union, held September 2, the following resolution was passed:—

■ That the members of this Union are of the opinion that the time has come when the Manchester Women's Social and Political Union should cease to exist as a separate body, and that from September 29, 1908 (the end of our financial year) the members shall enroll themselves members of the National Union.

The Manchester Union is the oldest—the mother union—and for over four years has met in the well-known office, 116, Portland-street. Attached as all naturally feel to what will one day be a historic office, we feel that at present its size and its position militate against the really successful work the Manchester group feel capable of. From now until November 25 we shall pursue a vigorous "Free Trade Hall Campaign"—as we shall call it—to draw attention to the next red-letter day. We want by November 25 to have a large campaign fund in hand. Already we have had to pay 25 guineas for the hall. We should like that and other expenses to be paid at once, so that all receipts may prove clear profit. As our finances will be conducted nationally, all subscriptions and collections, from whatever quarter sent in through me, will go to Lancashire's credit. For the honour, then, of Lancashire, let every member and friend living in and having sympathies in Lancashire either send a donation at once to me or write for a collecting card. Twenty members have promised already to be responsible for at least £1 by November 25, and these, by the way, are women who are giving every available moment to the cause. Surely those who cannot give time will give their money. Next week I shall explain how other parts of Lancashire may participate in the scheme, and I trust that by then I may have quite a number of promises and donations to acknowledge. The Harrogate campaign accounts, which I have just completed, show collections amounting to £22 11s. 2½d., which, with the profit of £30 14s. 6d. on the Kursaal meeting, gives a total of £53 5s. 8½d. Against this the Manchester and Harrogate expenses, chiefly in connection with At Homes and special advertising (and including the 25 guineas for the Free Trade Hall), show only a bare margin on the right side. May I once again urge upon supporters that one of the most valuable ways of helping us on is to release us from financial worry, thus giving greater scope for the purely human activities so necessary for lasting success? Send along your donation. Let it be as big as you can afford, but remember that the smallest effort will be gratefully welcomed.

Mary Gawthorpe.

YORKSHIRE.

On Monday last, September 28, Mrs. Pankhurst spoke at an At Home in the Parochial Hall, Huddersfield. It was very successful, for the audience was large and enthusiastic. Several new members were made after Mrs. Pankhurst had spoken. Miss Lowenthal and six ladies gave tea to the audience. This At Home shows a most favourable change in the attitude of the Huddersfield women, who are just now beginning to understand the meaning of our great women's movement. It will be very difficult for the Liberal party to retain its credit in Huddersfield, for among all the people there is strong feeling for the Suffragettes. Mrs. Pankhurst dealt mainly with the tactics of the W.S.P.U., and carried her audience with her entirely. A collection was taken of £3 8s. 10d. at the close of the meeting. It has been decided to open a literature stall in Huddersfield each Saturday in the St. George's-square.

Leeds.

A very full At Home was held in the Arts Club, Leeds, last Wednesday evening, and much good work planned. Several new members were made. Mr. Asquith has refused to receive a deputation which the Leeds Suffrage Society and many Liberal men and women requested—so that everyone is beginning to see that nothing is of any use but the unconstitutional tactics in which we believe. Many converts were made at a meeting in the Constitutional Club on Thursday evening, at which I spoke and Miss Pearson presided.

An At Home was held in the Priestley Hall on Saturday afternoon. Miss Gawthorpe spoke on values, and showed how the want of citizens' rights lowered women's value. Miss Bromley spoke excellently of women's fitness for the vote, and gave a most stirring call to the women to help us in our fight.

Mrs. Theodore Wright, who, in spite of a heavy evening's work

before her, kindly gave us two recitations and a reading, was greatly appreciated, and filled us all with enthusiasm. After she had finished a good collection was taken, and as the tea was entirely given by our members, we have a good profit to send to the National treasurer. I wish here to thank all the members of the W.S.P.U. who helped to make this At Home a success. The audience was between two and three hundred.

Bradford.

In Bradford we have the disappointment of having to release Mrs. Pethick Lawrence from her engagement on October 26, but as Miss Christabel Pankhurst is to take her place, and as it is her first visit to Bradford for many years, we must make it an excellent meeting. We hope to have Mrs. Pethick Lawrence with us in the spring. Our members have taken out the advertising cart for the first time, and we are full of admiration for their pluck. The cart is a very smart one, with attractive posters and good notices of the St. George's Hall meeting.

Our future At Homes are:—Monday, 12th, one to be given in Somerset Parlour by Mrs. Hall; on Monday, 19th, one to be given by Mrs. Child, in Somerset Parlour.

I have had subscribed to the National funds this week:—£2 from Mrs. Willson, of Halifax; 5s. from Mr. W. Jones, of Leeds; 5s. from Miss Rosa Newton, 5s. from Miss Edith Crag, 10s. from Mrs. Walter Foster; 10s., "tickets for Ghosts"; "Donation," 12s.; Miss R. Newton, lecture fee, 7s. 6d.; collections, September 22 to September 26, £3 7s. 7d.; September 27, £4 10s.; Monday, September 28, £3 8s. 10d.; September 29 to October 3, £3 14s.

Adela Pankhurst.

MIDLANDS.

At Homes.

Birmingham, 49, Bristol Street, Monday, 7.30 to 9 p.m.

Wolverhampton, The Baths Assembly Rooms, Thursday, 3.30 to 5 p.m.

Important Events.

October 8.—The Baths Assembly Rooms, Wolverhampton, 8 p.m., Mrs. Pankhurst.
November 4.—The Town Hall, Birmingham, Miss C. Pankhurst.

The fine weather of the last week has increased the attendances at the evening meetings in Birmingham, viz., at Witton-road, Gosta Green, Monument-road, and the Small Heath Park Gates. Great satisfaction has been expressed by many of our friends that Birmingham is shortly to be visited by Miss Christabel Pankhurst, who will speak in the Town Hall on Wednesday, November 4. A meeting is being arranged by Dr. Helena Jones to take place at the Institute, Northfield, on Tuesday, October 27, at 8 p.m. Mrs. Green will be in the chair, and Dr. Helena Jones and myself are to be the speakers. Will all members residing in this part of Birmingham, and able to assist on this occasion, please communicate at once with Dr. Helena Jones, 30, Bunbury-road, King's Norton.

The meeting, for women only, in Saltley will take place on Wednesday, October 14, at 3 p.m. Mrs. Ethel Davies, 99, Ellesmere-road, Saltley, is organising this meeting, and all members able to assist should let her know immediately.

On Tuesday we held a dinner hour meeting outside the most Liberal factory in the town, but a clear exposition of our non-party policy brought over many sympathisers, and we accepted their invitation to come again. Old friends and new were present at Leicester-square in the evening, we had many supporters among the women there, and often during the speeches they say "Hear, hear, that's true, every word of it!" enthusiastically.

On Thursday Mr. Pethick Lawrence gave an address at the At Home at the Baths Assembly Rooms, Wolverhampton. He dealt with the necessity of the women's point of view being represented in politics as well as that of men. He also pointed out how very self-controlled the agitation of the W.S.P.U. has been, especially when compared with similar agitations by men in all parts of the world.

On Saturday, Wolverhampton, accustomed as it now is to the unconventional methods of suffragettes, was somewhat surprised to see a high trap, decorated in purple, white, and green, driving through the main streets. Two suffragettes dressed in white, and wearing the Votes for Women regalia, delivered handbills and sold tickets to the interested crowds that gathered round. The placard at the back of the conveyance announcing Mrs. Pankhurst's visit to Wolverhampton was very conspicuous, and seems to have attracted universal attention.

In the evening Dr. Helena Jones and I addressed a large audience in the Market Place. At the close of the meeting a great number of questions were asked and answered. We sold all our newspapers, and went away with friendly "Good nights!" and the "Good luck to you!" ringing in our ears.

I am sending the treasurer the following sums: Miss Redfern 5s., Mrs. Hill 5s., and collections £2 0s. 5d. in Wolverhampton.

I shall be very pleased to receive further donations towards the Midlands Campaign Fund at the following address, viz., 49, Bristol-street, Birmingham.

Gladice C. Keevil.

NEWCASTLE.

At Homes.

Wednesdays 3 to 5, and 8 to 10.—Drawing Room Café, Northumberland Street.

Important Event.

October 26.—Mrs. Pankhurst at the Town Hall.

The first At Homes were held on Wednesday, September 30th, in the Drawing Room Café, Northumberland-street. A very good start was made, and many membership cards were signed. In the afternoon the Hon. Mrs. Parsons presided, and Mrs. Atkinson and I spoke; in the evening Mrs. Atkinson was in the chair and Miss Lambert gave an address.

A series of open-air meetings have been started. Mrs. Atkinson and I held midday meetings for working-men at Gateshead on Thursday and Friday, being specially invited by the men. At both meetings many papers were sold.

Two very successful meetings were held in the Haymarket on Saturday afternoon and evening. The audiences were quiet, attentive, and courteous, any attempt at interruption being promptly crushed by members of the audience.

For Newcastle Readers.

An open-air meeting will be held in the Haymarket on Friday next at 8.0 p.m. Will all the Newcastle members who will help in selling newspapers or literature at our meetings, or who will advertise and sell tickets for the important meeting we are arranging in the Town Hall on October 26th, please call at 37, Rye Hill, or write to me at that address. We are in very urgent need of speakers for our open-air campaign. Will those who can help in this way please let me know.

Edith New.

READING.

Committee Room: 29, S. Mary's Butts.

The campaign at Reading was opened on Friday with a most successful At Home in the Palmer Hall, West-street. Mrs. Pankhurst spoke for almost an hour, and explained the tactics of the W.S.P.U. to a most interested and sympathetic audience of over 150 ladies, and the majority of those present promised to come again next Friday when another At Home will be held in the Larger Hall to meet Miss Evelyn Sharp.

Mrs. Pankhurst addressed an open-air meeting later in the evening in St. Mary's Butts, and the points in her speech were quickly taken up and heartily cheered by the audience. Many of the women present were very interested, and wanted to know where they could obtain particulars of indoor meetings, so we were glad to be able to announce that a committee room had been taken at No. 29, St. Mary's Butts. This was opened last Monday.

The Town Hall has been taken for Monday evening, October 26, and tickets will be on sale at the committee rooms.

A series of open-air meetings is also being arranged, so there is now unlimited work waiting in Reading for everyone who is anxious to give help to the cause.

A. H. Scott.

SCOTLAND.

Important Events.

Tuesday, October 20.—Bridge of Allan, 2.45.

City Hall, Glasgow, 8.

October 21.—Burgh Hall, Hillhead, 2.30.

Victoria Hall, Helensburgh, 8.

October 22.—Edinburgh Women Students, 7.30.

October 23.—Queen's Hall, Edinburgh, 8.

October 24.—Good Templars' Hall, Paisley, 8.

We are now very busy with the preparations for Mrs. Pankhurst's visit, which we hope will prove the means of gaining much yet unbroken ground on which to build further strongholds of the W.S.P.U. On Thursday a bill-distributing party went to Paisley, where we were amused to find many people regarded the calling of a meeting to discuss the question of Votes for Women as a "very sensible idea." We were obliged to disclaim any credit for the originality of our plan, mentioning the thousands of meetings held by our members during the last year, only to be met with a gentle, "Yes, yes; but not in Paisley!" Evidently we shall not receive the *cachet* of distinction until the meeting of October 24 is an accomplished fact; but if all Paisley inhabitants are as sympathetic and helpful as those we met we shall have nothing to fear. Tomorrow we go to the Bridge of Allan to make arrangements there.

Miss Melville kindly gave a drawing-room meeting this week, which was very successful in enabling us to gain new members to sell VOTES FOR WOMEN and tickets for Mrs. Pankhurst's meeting. We shall be very glad to hear from other members who would help the work in this way.

The At Home on Saturday, held specially to discuss our autumn campaign, was well attended, and a ready response was made to our appeal for workers to help in selling VOTES FOR WOMEN, bill-distributing, acting as steward, &c.; but we should still be glad of many more names, especially during the next two weeks. Any members who have any spare time are asked if they would send a card to me (or call at the office), stating when they will be free, and in what way they will help.

141, Bath-street, Glasgow.

G. M. Conolan.

LOCAL NOTES.

Brighton and Hove N.W.S.P.U.—This Union held an enjoyable At Home in the Oddfellows' Hall on Friday, October 2, at which Mrs. Massy and Miss Naylor spoke. The platform was draped with the colours, and our Hyde Park banner held the place of honour. Miss Hare opened the proceedings by announcing that it was the object of the Union to rouse the enthusiasm of all the women of Brighton and Hove. Mrs. Massy dealt with the by-election policy, and showed clearly that the influence of the women had been instrumental in defeating the Government candidates. Miss Naylor said that we were asking for the vote on the same terms as men, and that it was absurd to say that a woman could not go out of the house once in five years for fifteen minutes to put a cross on a ballot paper. The Albert Hall meeting of October 29 was announced, also three Brighton meetings, on October 4, 16, and 23 respectively. Thirty-one copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold, as also some other literature. On Saturday afternoon, October 3, Miss Naylor and I had a meeting on the Front. The police made some difficulty about the meeting being held, but Miss Naylor took the risk of holding it, and while I wait to fetch the necessary permit Miss Naylor drew together a most sympathetic audience of about 300 people.

I. G. McKEOWN.

Chiswick W.S.P.U.—We held an At Home on Wednesday last at the Town Hall, when a good gathering of both men and women listened attentively to Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Brackenbury, and Mr. Baillie-Weaver, who spoke on how to get the vote. The audience was appreciative, and several names were given in as intending members of the N.W.S.P.U. VOTES FOR WOMEN and other literature were sold, and a collection taken. An At Home will be held the first Wednesday in each month till Christmas, next Wednesday at Mrs. East's house, 21, Brandenburgh-road, at 7.30 p.m. The Chiswick Times devoted a whole column to the report of our meeting.

C. R. A. COOMBS.

Hammersmith W.S.P.U.—The last week in Hammersmith has been devoted to working up for our Town Hall meeting, and arousing interest in our doings on October 13 in Parliament-square. Two open-air meetings have been held daily—the dinner-hour one at factory gates, and the evening one in some busy spot, and early enough to catch the City workers on their way home. As an experiment we decided to hold one meeting at 3.30 on Monday afternoon, to try and get the ear of the many housewives who apparently have a day "off" on Monday. To help to gather the audience I started chalking notices of forthcoming meetings, and as soon as one or two stopped to look Miss Townsend mounted the "box" and started the meeting. We held a goodly number of women interested for an hour and a half, and we were well satisfied with our experiment. On Friday evening we had a fairly large audience, mainly composed of enthusiastic women, who came to hear Mrs. Drummond and Miss Christabel Pankhurst. The speeches were listened to with great interest. Sale of literature was good, and a number of names were collected of those who wished to hear more of our movement.

L. C. CULLEN.

Hendon W.S.P.U.—Last Easter our first meeting consisted of five people; by the end of May we gathered an audience of over 200 to hear Mrs. Eates, Miss M. Brackenbury, and Miss Naylor, who spoke to such good purpose that we secured many active helpers. Later, two ladies lent their drawing-rooms for meetings, about 30 being present on each occasion. The formation of a committee of eight members a week ago is to be followed by a public meeting in the Council Offices, when Miss Christabel Pankhurst has promised to speak for us, and we hope that in consequence our signatures on membership cards will receive large additions, especially among the women Liberals, who are inclined to hang back from the movement at present, though we have triumphed in one particular, as a vice-president of their association has resigned her position to join our ranks. Anyone wanting information, or who is willing to help, should write to Miss Creaton, 21, Ravenshurst-avenue, Hendon.

F. V. CREATON.

Hornsey W.S.P.U.—On Tuesday, September 29, a most successful inaugural meeting was held at the Assembly Rooms, Crouch End, when Miss Christabel Pankhurst addressed a crowded hall of women, the majority of whom were strangers to the work of our Union. The interest shown, however, was great, and a net profit of £4 13s. 6d. was made. This is most encouraging. The first gathering of the local Union will be held on Thursday, October 15, at the house of Miss Hogg, 7, Priory-gardens, Priory-road, Hornsey. Miss Vera Wentworth has kindly promised to be the chief speaker at this meeting, and it is hoped that all who see this notice and are living near Crouch End, Stroud Green, Finsbury Park, Muswell Hill, Highgate, or Hornsey will do their utmost to attend, and to bring others with them. Those who are unable to come to our meeting and are able to help our Union to carry out the schemes set on foot in the districts of North London are asked to communicate with Miss T. Bonwick, 28, Weston-park, Crouch End, who will be glad of help of any and every kind.

THEODORA BONWICK.

Kensington W.S.P.U.—Our autumn campaign had a most promising beginning last week in our first At Home, at Albert Lodge, when we had the largest gathering we have yet had on a Wednesday afternoon. Miss L. Phillips and Miss Canning gave most interesting accounts of their prison experiences, which Miss Postlethwaite illustrated with models of the knife and spoon she used in Holloway. We had a large audience at our first open-air meeting at Notting Hill-gate, addressed by Miss Marsh and Miss Morrison, and from Miss Limousine's drawing-room meeting we gained new members and offers of help in chalking and bill distributing.

The sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN in the streets is most encouraging. 120 copies were sold in two days, three dozen being sold at Notting Hill-gate in one hour.

Our programme of open-air and drawing-room meetings is framed with a view to bringing large numbers to the Caxton Hall and Albert Hall meetings, but we should like to advertise them still further by means of decorated carriages and motor cars. Will any of our friends lend us conveyances or provide us with the means of hiring them to drive round Kensington and district on October 12 and 13 and October 28 and 29?

LOUISE M. EATES.

Lewisham W.S.P.U.—Our first At Home after the summer recess was held on Tuesday, September 29, at Mrs. Billingshurst's. The appeal to make the Demonstration of October 13 a success met with a ready response, and our members arranged there and then to form chalking parties, and parties for distributing handbills at the pit and gallery entrances of local theatres and music halls. On Friday we had two street-corner meetings, one in Brockley and another in Deptford, where Miss Stephenson and myself were the speakers. I have good reason to believe that we shall have many supporters from Deptford on October 13. On Sunday Miss U. K. Smith made a most impressive speech, on Blackheath. In the evening a huge crowd was waiting for her arrival in Peckham. Miss Barratt used some very strong arguments in favour of our demand, which were very much appreciated by the audience, particularly by the women. Mrs. Leigh spoke of the interruptions at Mr. Lloyd George's meeting in Swansea. VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold and handbills distributed at all the meetings.

J. A. BOUVIER.

Liverpool W.S.P.U.—All through the summer months we in Liverpool have held outdoor meetings twice a week. On Saturday last we spoke to an audience of over a thousand. Each Tuesday we meet in the Engineers' Association Rooms, 48,

Mount Pleasant, and on October 6 we shall again have the pleasure of hearing Mrs. Martel. Our members are now busily engaged in chalking to advertise her visit, and we hope for a crowded meeting again.

ANNIE MARKS.

Stoke-on-Trent W.S.P.U.—A large audience assembled at Campbell-place on the weekly open-air meeting on October 1. Mrs. Lawton was the speaker, while I acted as chairman. The meeting was a great success, and notwithstanding the bad state of trade in the town, we collected about half-a-crown, and made three new members.

We are hoping soon to have a public meeting in the Town Hall here, which we feel sure will be a success, for Miss Christabel Pankhurst or any of the London leaders would be heartily welcomed.

A few weeks ago we were led to believe that we could have a room in the Working Men's Club, in which to adjourn in case the weather being unfavourable prevented our holding the open-air meetings. After much delay, the secretary of the club wrote to say he could not let us have the room. However, we are not disheartened, knowing full well that obstacles which beset our path seem to advance rather than retard our movement.

ADELINE REDFERN WILDE.

Streatham and Brixton W.S.P.U.—A very successful meeting was held at the White Horse, Angell-road, Brixton, on Thursday, October 1, at which Mrs. Clarke spoke. I acted as chairman, and found no difficulty in getting together a good crowd, in which men predominated. In spite of some good-natured banter the attitude on the whole was friendly, and we promised to hold some more meetings. VOTES FOR WOMEN sold well.

K. S. TAMMER.

Checkendon.—The first Suffrage meeting ever held at Checkendon took place on the village green on Saturday night, when Miss Parker and I spoke to an attentive audience from Miss Le Lacheur's motor. The meeting was felt to be a successful culmination of the excellent work which Miss Le Lacheur and Miss Parker have been doing for a long time, in spreading a knowledge of the subject throughout the neighbourhood.

MARY PHILLIPS.



Anty Drudge Cure for Wash-Day Aches.

Mrs. Hardwork—"Of all the things I've tried for that wash-day pain in my back Dr. Flimflam's Dollardope is the best."

Anty Drudge—"Dollardope, indeed! If you used a cake of Fels-Naptha and luke-warm water, instead of scalding your hands and breaking your back over the wash-tub—you'd never have a pain. Your washing would be done in less than half the time."

People call Fels-Naptha a laundry soap; and so do we—for want of a better term. It is more than a laundry soap. Nothing else is just like it; no words exactly describe it, except Fels-Naptha.

Fels-Naptha does more than any laundry soap; it does almost as much as a laundry soap and a washing machine (human or mechanical) put together.

This is how Fels-Naptha works: You wet the clothes, rub the soap on them, put them in the tub, just cover them with lukewarm or cold water and leave them for thirty minutes. In this half-hour Fels-Naptha loosens the dirt from the fabric. Then a little rubbing and a thorough rinsing separate the dirt from the clothes and the wash is ready for the line.

Why not let Fels-Naptha do it?

Fels - Naptha

will do it. Isn't it worth trying?

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Questions intended for answer in this column should be addressed to the Editors "Votes for Women," and specially marked "Answers to Correspondents." They must be accompanied by name and address of the sender, and should be questions relating directly to Woman Suffrage or to the policy of the N.W.S.P.U.

36. If women have the vote under the conditions you demand, the vote will chiefly go—

- (1) To women of the lowest class.
- (2) To prostitutes. There are about 60,000 in London alone who would get the Lodger's vote.
- (3) To young women employed in teaching and typewriting.
- (4) Shop girls who sleep out.
- (5) A few widows and very few married women.

Are these first classes to be allowed to make laws for our children?

- (1) Men of the lowest class get votes, therefore women who belong to the same class and are qualified are entitled to have them.
- (2) Immorality does not disfranchise men, and therefore should not be made a ground for disfranchising women.
- (3) and (4) Surely the questioner agrees that it is desirable that women who have to teach the duties of citizenship to young children, and who are engaged in the business and industries of the country should have a voice in the government of the country.
- (5) The majority of the men voters in the country are householders, and the majority of women qualified for the vote are also householders. Not a few, but a very great many widows would get the vote.

As to the married women, a man under present conditions does not get the vote because he is married, and, therefore, marriage alone cannot be claimed as a qualification for women.

But what we, as women, have to work for, is the removal of the sex disability, so securing that the interests of women as a whole shall be safeguarded in the legislation of the country.

37. On the principle of "homo non vir," laid down in Magna Carta and confirmed in the Charters of Trades and Guilds, can any Government take away the rights so guarded? And can any Government restore that which no Government can take away?

It is open to question whether qualified women are entitled to-day to use their vote. Many authorities hold that they are, but the decision given by the Judges of *Charlton versus Ling* is to the contrary effect. Acting upon this legal decision, no revising barrister will allow a woman's name to go down upon the Parliamentary register. A Government can reverse the legal decision by introducing a Bill expressly removing the disqualification of sex, just as the present Government reversed the decision of the Judges in what is known as the *Taff Vale* case, when it restored to Trades Unions the immunity of their funds.

(38) Can it be proved that women before 1832 did vote? Are there any pamphlets published on this subject?

Yes, this fact has been proved; I will give one illustration.

An old burgess list of Lyme Regis, of 19 Elizabeth, which was brought forward in 1789 to decide the electoral qualifications of that place, has for its three first names those of three women:—"Burgesses sive liberi tenentes Elizabetha filia Thomas Wyatt, Crispina Bowden Vidua, Alicia Toller Vidua," followed by the names of several men.

The questioner should read Mrs. Stopes' "British Freewomen," also the "Sphere of Man in the Constitution."

OUR POST BOX.

THE WESTMINSTER DEMONSTRATION.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—May I suggest that all men who are in earnest for Women's Suffrage should make a point of turning up at Westminster on October 13. Constitutional methods are still open to us, but we can at least show an active sympathy with the women's agitation. Hitherto men have been content to be the merest spectators when deputations have been seeking admission to the House of Commons. We ought now to have enthusiastic crowds cheering the deputation all the way from Caxton Hall. And this can be done on the 13th if men will overcome their natural shyness and modesty.

Yours, &c.

JOSEPH CLAYTON.

Prospect House, Hampstead, N.W., October 1, 1908.

Established 1851. **BIRKBECK BANK.** Established 1861.

SOUTHAMPTON BUILDINGS, HIGH HOLBORN, W.C.

2 PER CENT. INTEREST Allowed on Deposit Accounts, Repayable on Demand.
2 PER CENT. INTEREST On Drawing Accounts with Cheque Book.
 ALL GENERAL BANKING BUSINESS TRANSACTED
 ALMANACK, with full particulars **POST FREE.**
 C. F. RAVENSCROFT, Secretary.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—May I draw the attention of your readers to the following extract from a speech delivered at Merthyr last week by Mr. D. A. Thomas, M.P.?

The power of the executive had increased tremendously in the House of Commons during the last 20 years, and the position of the private member had been very much diminished. The private member had been practically snuffed out. It was all very well for them as M.P.'s to come before the voters at election times. Sir Alfred was as much a humbug as he (Mr. Thomas) was in that direction. (Loud laughter.) They said they would introduce this and that Bill, but private members may go on introducing Bills continually, and it was hardly ever, if ever, that a contentious measure introduced by the private member passed into law.—*Western Mail*, Friday, October 2.

Some Suffragists still fail to understand the attitude of the W.S.P.U. in attacking the Government and ignoring the private member. Perhaps this will help them to see the strength of Miss Pankhurst's policy.

Yours, &c.,

October 5.

A. LLOYD THOMAS

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—On Thursday evening, after an open-air meeting in Hammersmith, a man overtook me and asked whether I would give away 50 copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN gratis at my meetings if he sent me 4s. 2d. I said I would, and yesterday I received the money. In his letter he said, "You, of course, will use your own discretion as to their disposal, but I think if they were given away to men who have not hitherto read a copy of your paper hostility to your cause would soon be converted to enthusiasm."

Yours, &c.,

R. BARRETT.

60, Heath-street, Hampstead, N.W.,
 October 4, 1908.

E. DAY & CO.,

French Cleaners and Art Dyers,

Nettoyage à Sec.

RECEIVING HOUSES:—

5, Brecknock Rd., Camden Rd., N. | 10, Russell Gdns., Kensington, W.
 275, High St., Camden Town, N.W. | 66, Roslyn Hill, Hampstead, N.W.

A SALE of SMALL PICTURES by C. LILLIAN SHEPPARD and ROSE ASPINALL SYERS will be held at "The Studio," 3a, Seymour-place, Fulham-road, S.W., from Wednesday, October 21st till October 28th inclusive. Moderate Prices. Open from 2 till 7 p.m. Tea 3d.

MRS. W. BAKER receives ladies and gentlemen as paying guests. Special arrangements for students, teachers, &c. Terms inclusive, 21s. to 31s. 6d. weekly. 109, Elgin Avenue, Maida Hill, London, W.

WANTED.—Comfortable, Homely LODGINGS near Clements Inn, for Four Young Suffragettes. Single bedrooms. Joint sitting room. Good attendance. Suffragette landlady preferred.—Address, Box 29, "VOTES FOR WOMEN" Office, 4, Clements Inn.

SUFFRAGETTE would like to know of any Others REQUIRING UNFURNISHED ROOM or ROOMS in Hampstead District. "TARTAN." Care of "VOTES FOR WOMEN."

NEW HALL.—RESIDENCE for Women Students of Music, Art, Literature, &c., 19 and 21, Lexham-gardens, W. Principal, Miss RANSOM. Charges from 18 to 30 guineas a term of twelve weeks. Twenty Five students received.

MISS EDITH GIBBS Coaches for Public Speaking, including Perfect Voice Production, Elocution, &c. CLASSES RESUME SEPTEMBER 15TH. BECHSTEIN HALL STUDIOS, 40, Wigmore-street, W.

FRAULEIN ANNA KRAFT, Professor of the London Academy, Beckenham, Bromley, Streatham, and Wimbledon Schools of Music, VISITS and RECEIVES Advanced Pupils or Beginners, for Zither and Mandoline.—For terms, apply, 158, Kensington Park-road, Bayswater, W.

WANTED, LADY with moderate income, to JOIN ANOTHER in taking small House in or near Canterbury. Advertiser would pay the larger share of rent if relieved of the trouble of managing servants. She has furniture warehoused; and small pony and cart.—Mrs. INNES, County Hotel, Canterbury.

HOW WONDERFUL! MOLYNEUX HOUSE, TUNBRIDGE WELLS.



Kitty: "Oh! Mollie, have you seen Smart's Invisible Hooks and Eyes?"

Mollie: "Of course I haven't. They're Invisible; they can't be seen."

Kitty: "Yes, they can; I have seen them. I saw them AT THE DRAPER'S."

WILL EVERY SUFFRAGIST

WHEN AT HER DRAPER'S
remember to purchase

A CARD of SMART'S INVISIBLE HOOKS and EYES.

These Hooks and Eyes, now used all over The British Empire,
Are the patented invention and property of two members and supporters of
The Women's Social and Political Union.

WHY PAY RENT?

THE BRITISH HOMES SCHEME enables Policy holders to reap the benefit of their investment **during their own lifetime**, and in the event of premature death to leave their legal representatives in possession of a comfortable home free from any mortgage charge or encumbrance. Particulars post free.

Good Prospects for Active Agents.

THE
British Homes Assurance Corporation,

LIMITED,

6, Paul Street, Finsbury, London, E.C.
M. GREGORY, Managing Director.

MISS FOLKARD,

Artistic Dress and Mantle Maker,

3, HILL'S PLACE, OXFORD CIRCUS, W.

Ladies' Materials made up in January and September.

MISS EDITH PENNY, TEACHER OF MUSIC AND SINGING.

SPECIALIST IN VOICE IMPROVEMENT AND BREATHING.

For Terms, &c., Address—

83, UPPER GLOUCESTER PLACE, DORSET SQUARE, N.W.

ALLEN-BROWN'S ENGLISH VIOLET TOILET PREPARATIONS

BOX OF SOAP CONTAINING 3 TABLETS, 2/6, post free.
BOTTLES OF PERFUME, 1/6, 2/6, and 3/6, post free.

SAMPLE OF SOAP, post free, 4d.
SAMPLE OF SCENT, post free, 4d.

THE MISSES ALLEN-BROWN, F.R.H.S., VIOLET NURSERIES,
HENFIELD, SUSSEX.

A Lady Receives **PAYING GUESTS** in Well-Appointed House.
Charmingly Situated.

INCLUSIVE TERMS FROM £2 2s. Weekly.

HULLO!!

Can we recommend you a
GOOD PRINTER? Yes.

Our work is always well executed by

BUCKENHAM & SON,

642-4, KING'S ROAD, FULHAM,

Who will be pleased to send you estimates.
They are always prompt to time and their prices are low.

389 PUTNEY



MISS IRENE SPONG, L. R. A. M.,

SOPRANO (Member of the N.W.S.P.U.)

(Pupil of, and recommended by, Mr. F. BROADBENT & MONS. EDOUARD DE RESZKE.)
For Pupils, At Homes, &c.

Studio: 34, PRINCES AVENUE, MUSWELL HILL, N.; & 9, FITZROY SQUARE, W.C.

Beautiful Health & Holiday Home

Unexcelled Scenery of Dean Forest. Lower Severn & Wye Valleys.

Good Roads. Magnificent Scenery. Charming spacious house, 5 acres pretty grounds (altitude 600ft.). Excellent piano; billiard room; bath; tennis; wagonette.

Homelike. Vegetarians Accommodated. Suffragist Rendezvous

BOARD-RESIDENCE from 27/-. Photos. and particulars sent.

HALLAM, Littledean House, Newnham, Gloucestershire.

THELMA

Robes et Modes.

59, SOUTHAMPTON ROW, LONDON, W.C.

Lizzie Caswall-Smith, Photographer.

309, Oxford Street, W. (Close to New Bond St.)

MRS. MORISON

Surgical & Directoire Corsets.

VACANCIES FOR PUPILS.

26, SOUTH MOLTON STREET, LONDON.

MADAME BRANDT,

Hats from One Guinea.

REMODELLING & RENOVATIONS.

44, Sloane Street, S.W.

ELOCUTION. — GRETA GARNIER

TEACHES:—Voice Culture, Gesture, Oratory, Recitation, Accent, Physical Culture.

Speech Defects Corrected.

Interview by Arrangement:—

LADIES COACHED PRIVATELY.

32, WIGMORE-ST., W.

Printed by THE ST. CLEMENTS PRESS, LIMITED, Newspaper Buildings, Portugal Street, Kingway, London, W.C., and Published for the Proprietors at 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.